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Ecclesiastical memorials

CHRISTIANITY

AND ITS HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION

IN THE

REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

BY

J. D. Ainslie

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF

OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME THE SECOND

THE APPENDIX

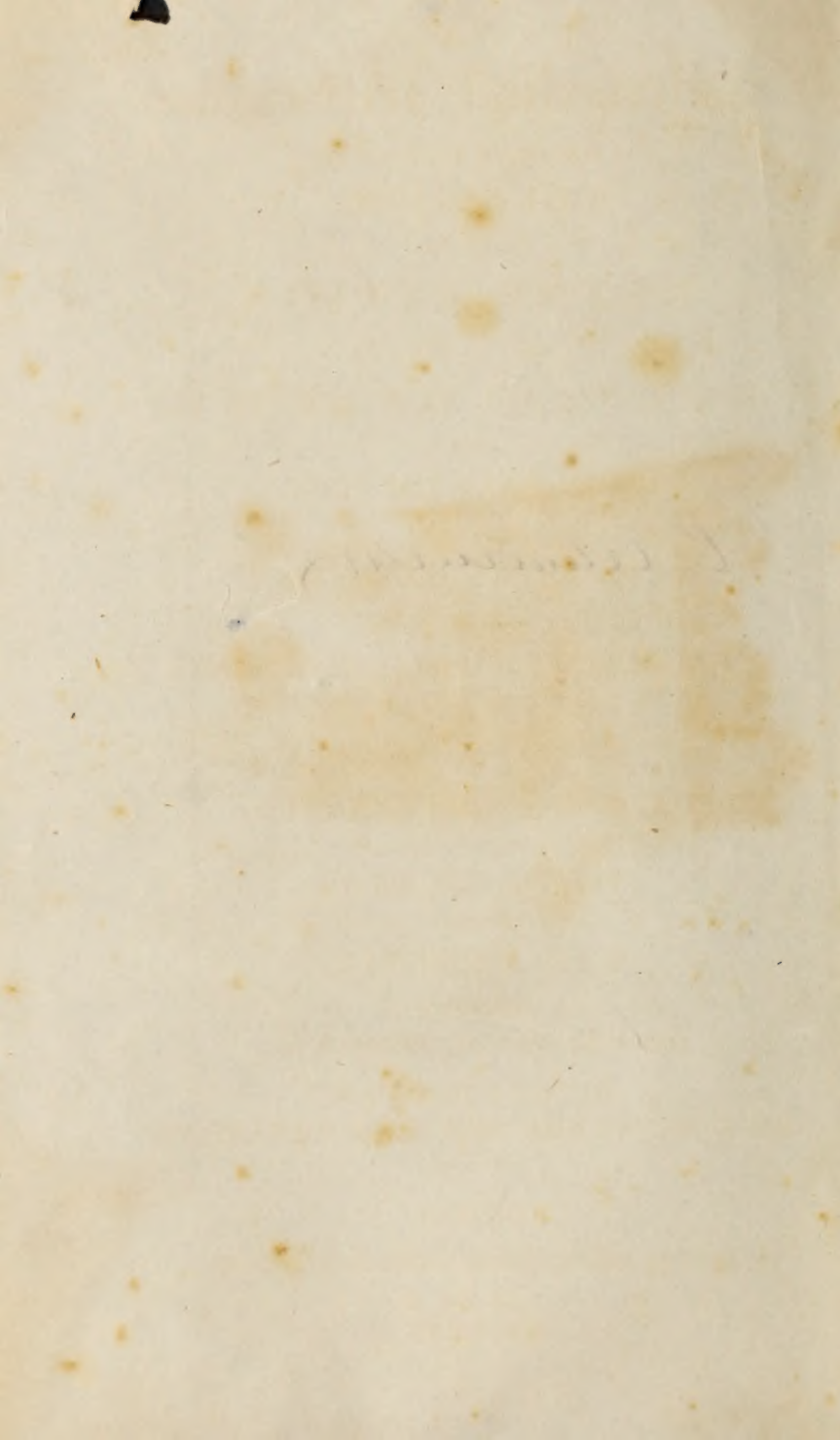
CONTAINING

A HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

IN THE

REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

AND



Ecclesiastical Memorials;

RELATING CHIEFLY TO

RELIGION,

AND ITS

REFORMATION,

UNDER THE REIGNS OF

KING HENRY VIII. KING EDWARD VI.

AND

QUEEN MARY THE FIRST:

WITH THE

APPENDIXES

CONTAINING

THE ORIGINAL PAPERS, RECORDS, &c.

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*In Seven Volumes.*

BY JOHN STRYPE, M.A.

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*VOLUME THE SIXTH.*

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THE APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

ORIGINAL PAPERS, RECORDS, &c.

REFERRING TO THE REIGNS OF

KING HENRY VIII. AND KING EDWARD VI.

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LONDON:

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AN
APPENDIX
TO THE
MEMORIALS ECCLESIASTICAL,
UNDER THE REIGN OF
KING HENRY VIII.

NUMBER LXXI.

p. 172.

The Lady Brian, governess to the Lady Elizabeth, her letter to the L. Crumwel, from Hunsdon. For instructions concerning the said lady, after the death of Q. Anne, her mother.

MY Lord, after my most bounden duty, I recommend me to your good lordship: beseeching you to be good lord to me, &c. My lord, when your lordship was last here, it pleased you to say, that I should not mistrust the kings grace, nor your lordship. Which word was more comfort to me, than I can write, as God knoweth. And now it boldeth me to shew you my poor mind. My lord, when my Lady Maries grace was born, it pleased the kings grace to (appoint) me lady mistress; & made me a baroness. And so I have been a (governess) to the children his grace have had since.

Cott. Libr.
Otho, C. 10.

Now it is so, my Lady Elizabeth is put from that degree she was afore: and what degree she is at now, I know not, but by hearsay. Therefore I know not how to order her, nor my self; nor none of hers, that I have the rule of: that is, her women & her grooms: beseeching you to be good lord to my lady,

& to al hers : and that she may have some rayment ;
(i. e. for mourning.) For she hath neither gowne nor
 kirtell, nor petticoat, nor no maner of linnen, nor
 foresmocks, nor kerchiefs, nor slieves, nor rayls, nor
 body-stytchets, nor handkerchiefs, nor mofelers, nor
 begins. All these her graces mostake, I have driven
 off, as long as I can, that, be my troth, I cannot
 drive it no lenger : beseeching you, my lord, that
 you wil see, that her grace may have that is needful
 for her, as my trust is yee wil do. Beseeching you,
 my own good lord, that I may know from you by
 writing, how I shal order my self ; & what is the
 kings graces plesure, & yours, that I shal do in every
 thing. And whatsome ever it shal please the kings
 grace, or your lordship, to command me at al times,
 I shal fulfil it, to the best of my power.

p. 173.

My lord, Mr. Shelton saith, he is master of this
 house : what fashion that shal be, I cannot tel ; for
 I have not seen it afore. My lord, yee be so ho-
 nourable your self, & every man reporteth your lord-
 ship loveth honour, that I trust your lordship wil se
 the house honourably ordered, howsome ever it hath
 been aforetime. And if it please you, that I may
 know what your order is, & if it be not performed, I
 shal certify your lordship of it. For I fear me, it
 wil be hardly enough performed. But if the head
 of - - - - - knew what honour meaneth, it
 wil be the better ordered ; if not, it wil be hard to
 bring it to pass.

My lord, Mr. Shelton would have my Lady Eliza-
 beth to dine & supp every day at the board of estate.
 Alas ! my lord, it is not meet for a child of her age
 to keep such rule yet. I promise you, my lord, I
 dare not take it upon me to keep her in health, & she
 keep that rule. For there she shal see divers meats
 & fruits, & wine ; which would be hard for me to re-
 strain her grace from it. Yee know, my lord, there
 is no place of correction there. And she is yet too
 young to correct greatly. I know wel, & she be
 there, I shal nother bring up her to the kings graces

honour, nor hers; nor to her health, nor my poor honesty. Wherefore I shew your lordship this my desire: beseeching you, my lord, that my lady may have a mess of meat to her own lodging, with a good dish or two, that is meet for her grace to eat of. And the reversion of the mess shal satisfy al her women, a gentleman usher, & a groom. Which been eleven persons on her side. Sure I am, it will be (in to right little) as great profit to the kings grace this way, as the t'other way. For if al this should be set abroad, they must have three or four mess of meat, where this one mess shal suffice them al, with bread & drink, according as my Lady Maries grace had afore: & to be ordered in al things, as her grace was afore.

God knoweth, my lady hath great pain with her great teeth, & they come very slowly forth; & causeth me to suffer her grace to have her wil, more than I would. I trust to God, & her teeth were well graft, to have her grace after another fashion, than she is yet: so as I trust the kings grace shal have great comfort in her grace. For she is as toward a child, & as gentle of conditions, as ever I knew any in my life. Jesu preserve her grace. As for a day or two at a hey (*i. e.* high) time; or whensome ever it shal please the kings grace to have her set abroad, I trust so to endeavour me, that shee shal so do, as shal be to the kings honour, & hers: and then after to take her ease again.

I think Mr. Shelton wil not be content with this. He may not know it is my desire; but that it is the kings plesure, & yours, it should be so. Good my lord, have my ladies grace, & us that be her poor servants, in your remeinbrance. And your lordship shal have our harty prayers by the grace of Jesu: who ever preserve your lordship with long life, & as much honour as your noble hart can desire. From Honsdon with the evil hand of her that is your daily bead-woman,

MARGET BRYAN.

p. 174.

I beseech you, my own good lord, be not miscontent, that I am so bold to write thus to your lordship. But I take God to my judge, I do it of true hart, & for my discharge. Beseeching you, accept my good mind.

To the Rt. Noble, & my singular good lord,
my L. Privy Seal, be this delivered.

NUMBER LXXII.

Sir Richard Moryson to the L. Crumwel; concerning printing the kings answer to the popes calling of a council at Mantua.

Cleopatra,
E.6. p.316.

MY lord, my most humble duty premised. Wheras your good lordship appoynted me, both to alter, & also shortly to se printed the kings answer touching the Mantuan council; now my petition is, that your lordship woll think the printing of it deferred rather upon good respects, than that I have not encreased the book according to your commandment. For as soon as this answer came forth, one Tubalde, which now is in Saxony, was sent of them to Philip Melancthon. Many were sent into France. I think there be few nations, but the book there hath been seen.

Now, my lord, if it shal come out as I am bidden, the most part changed, many things left out, (which be both truly spoken, & cannot but do good, being bydden bye) men of other nations may reckon, that either we be affraid or ashamed to say as we have said. They may think things pass lightly here, that are so little while liked. If the book had gone forth in a private name, yet they might have charged us with inconstancy, which yet leave to-day that we yesterday loved. The sentence of a prince, the answer of an whole realm, either ought not to be printed, or else once printed, not to be changed.

The Germans have nothing in their answer, but I am sure it is at the least touched in ours. Many

arguments are handled in this, that they leave utterly untouched. Again, if we should say simply even as they say, we might then seem to repeat theirs, & not to write our own. Notwithstanding I have two or three leaves, that may wel be added, & the booke in maner as it was. At the least they shal gather, that we be neither affraid nor ashamed to say, they intend no good faith, that intend guile; no setting up of truth, that go about to keep down Gods word. And for the place of the papacy given by our consent over us, & taken away by our consent, I have thus changed.

“ In time past, we being deceived by false pretence of scripture, by whose authority you claimed your prerogative & jurisdiction upon al men, did acknowledge your primacy; & following the consent, or rather error of the world, gave you authority upon kings subjects: now we will be no lenger deceived: now we justly cal in again that you have unjustly extorted of our fathers; & woll that truth make an end of your reigne, which began by error. It is lawful, reason woll, yea, we are commanded to take from you that no man can give you, but he that is deceived.” And after this followeth as it is in the first: “ We princes wrot ourselves to be familiars to popes, as long as we thought so: we obeyed them as our superiors,” &c.

p. 175.

And I trust your lordship wil take in good part, that that I, according to my most bounden duty, have done. *Se la vra bonta, &c.*

Il vro. humil. servitore,

RICCHIAR DE MORRYSON.

NUMBER LXXIII.

The protestation of the clergie of the lower house within the province of Canterbury: with declaration of fautes & abuses which hertofore hath, & now be within the same, worthy special reformation.

Foxii MSS.

IN veray humble & reverent maner, with protestation, That Wee, the clergie of the lower house within the province of Canterbury, nother in word, dede, or otherwise, directly or indirectly, intending any thinge to speke, attempte, or do, which in any maner of wise may be displeasante unto the kings highnes, our most dread soveraigne lord, & supreme hedd of the church of England, but in al thinges accordyng to the commandement of Godde, to be mooste obedient unto his grace: to whom accordyngly we submitt our selves; mynding in no wise, by any colorable fasshion, to recognise, prevely or apartely, fend or maynten the same, into this noble realme, or domynions of the same: but that the same Bp. of Rome, with his usurped authoritie, utterly for ever with his inventions, rites, abuses, ordenances, & fasshions, to be renounced, forsaken, extingweshed, & abolished: And that we syncerly addict our selves to Almyghtie God his lawes, & unto our seid soveraigne lord the kynge, our supreme hede in erthe, & his lawes, statutes, provisions, & ordenances, made here within his graces realme: wee thinke in our consciences & opinions, thes errors & abuses folloyng, to have ben, & now to be within this realme, causes of dissension, worthy special reformation. That is to wete,

- I. That it is comonly preached, thought, & spokyn, to the slaunder of this noble realme, disquietnes of the people, damage of christen sowles, not without fear of many other inconveniences & perills; that the sacrament of the altar is not to be esteemed. For divers light & lewd persons be not ashamed, or aferde to say, Why shuld I see the sakeryng of the

high masse? Is it any thing else, but a pece of brede, or a litle pretie pece rownde Robyn?

Item, That they deny extreme unction to be any sacrament. II.

Item, That priests have no more auctoritie to minister sacraments, than lay men hath. III.

Item, That children ought not to be confirmed of the busshop afore they cum to age of discretion. IV.

Item, That al ceremonies accustomed in the church, which are not clerly expressed in scripture, must be taken away; by cause thei ar menys inventions. V.

Item, That al thos ar antichrists that do deny ley men the sacrament of the aulter, *sub utraq; specie*. VI.

Item, That al thos, that be present at masse, & do not receyve the sacrament with the priests, are not partakers of the said masse. VII.

Item, That it is preached & tawght, that the church, that is commonly taken for the church, is the old synagoge: and that the church is the congregation of good men only. VIII.

Item, It is preached agaynst the Leteny, & also said, That it was never mery in England, sythens the Leteny was ordeyned; & Sancta Maria, Sancta Katerina, &c. sowngen & said. IX.

Item, That a man hath no free will. X.

Item, That Godd never gave grace, nor knowlege of holy scripture to any great estate, or rich man. And that they in no wise do follow the same. XI.

Item, That al religions & professions, whatsoever thei be, ar clene contrary to Christs religion. XII.

Item, That it is preached & taught, that al things awght to be in comen, & that priests shuld have wiffes. XIII.

Item, That preachers woll in no wise conforme themselves *ad ecclesiam catholicam*, nor admitt or receyve *canonicos & probatos aucthores*. But woll have their awn fantasies & inventions preached & set forward. XIV.

Item, That the images of saincts ar not in any wise XV.

to be revered: and that it is playne idolatry & abhomynation to set vp any light before any image, or in any place in the church, in the tyme of divine service, as long as the sonne giveth light.

XVI. *Item*, That it is idolatry to make any oblation.

XVII. *Item*, That it is lawful to kyrson a child in a tubb of water at home, or in a ditch by the way, as in a founte stone in the church.

XVIII. *Item*, That the water in the founte stone is alonly a thing conjured.

XIX. *Item*, That the hawlowed oyle is not better then the busshop of Romys grese or butter.

XX. *Item*, That the priests crownes ar the whores markes of Babylon.

XXI. *Item*, That the stole about the priests neck is nothing els but the Busshop of Romes rope.

XXII. *Item*, That ymages, as wel of the crucifix, as of other saincts, ar to be put out of the church, & the reliques of saincts, no wise to be revered: and that it is agaynst Goddes commandement, that christen men shuld make curtesy or reverence to the image of our Saviour.

XXIII. *Item*, That it is no synne or offence to ete white
p. 177. metes, eggs, butter, chese, or flesh, in the Lent, or other fasting dayes, commanded in the church, & receyved by the consent of christen people.

XXIV. *Item*, That it is as lawful to ete flesh on Good Friday, as apon Easter day, or other tymes in the yere.

XXV. *Item*, That the synner offendying in the Lent, or other high feasts in the yere, is wurthy no more punyshment, than he that transgressith in any other tyme.

XXVI. *Item*, That confession auricular, absolution, & penance, ar nothing necessary, nor profitable in the church of Godd.

XXVII. *Item*, That auricular confession is only invented & ordeyned, to have the secret knowlege of mens harts, & to pull money out of thair purssis.

XXVIII. *Item*, That the ghostly fathers cannot give or injoyne any penance at all.

Item, That it is sufficient for a man or a woman XXIX.
to make thair confession to Godd only.

Item, That it is as lawful at al tymes to confesse XXX.
to a layman, as to a priest.

Item, That confession is but whispering in a priests XXXI.
ear, & as wel to be made, a multytude being present,
as secret.

Item, That it is sufficient that the synner do say, XXXII.
I know myself a synner.

Item, That busshops, ordinaries, & ecclesiastical XXXIII.
judges, have none auctorite to give any sentence
of excommunication, suspension, or censure, ne yet
to absolve or loose any man from the same.

Item, That it is not necessary or profitable, to XXXIV.
have any church or chapell, to pray in, or to do any
divine service in.

Item, That the church was made for no other purpose XXXV.
but other to kepe the people from wynde &
rayne, other els that the people on Sondayes or haly
dayes shuld resort thither to have the word of Godd
declared unto them.

Item, That buryings in churches, in church yards, XXXVI.
be unprofitable & vain.

Item, That the rich & costly ornamentes in the XXXVII.
church ar rather high displeasure than pleasure or
honor to Godd.

Item, That it is a pity that ever the mass, matens, XXXVIII.
even song, or any other divine service, was made, or
suffered to be redd, said, or song, within any church,
bycause it is only to the deludyng of the people.

Item, That saincts ar not to be invocated or ho- XXXIX.
nored, & that they understand not, nor know nothing
of our petitions, nor can be mediators betwixt us &
Godd.

Item, That our Lady was noo better than an other XL.
woman, & like a bagg of safferon or peper, whan the
spice ys out: & that she can do no more with Christ,
than another synful woman.

Item, That it is as moche availeable to pray unto XLI.
saincts, as to whorle a stone agaynst the wynde.

- XLII. *Item*, That the saincts have no moore power to help a man, than a manys wife hath to helpe her husbunde.
- p. 178.
XLIII. *Item*, That dirige, commendations, mass, suffrages, prayers, almes dedes, or oblations, done for the sowles of them that be departed owt of this world, be but vayne & of no profit.
- XLIV. *Item*, That the sowles departed goo strayght to heven or to hell.
- XLV. *Item*, That ther ys no meane place between heven & hell, wherin sowles departed may be afflicted.
- XLVI. *Item*, That if ther be a place where thei be punyshed, Godd is not yet borne, nor he that shal redeme the world.
- XLVII. *Item*, That prayers, suffrages, fasting, or almes dede, do not help to take away any synne.
- XLVIII. *Item*, That ther is noo distinction of synne after this sort, summe to be venial, & summe to be mortall.
- XLIX. *Item*, That al synnes, after that the synner by ons converted, ar made, by the merit of Christs passion, venial synns, that is to say, synns clene forgyven.
- L. *Item*, That Almyghty Godd doth not loke for, nor yet require of a synner, after his conversion from synn, any fasting, almes dede, or any other penaunce, but only that the synner be sorry for his synnes, amending his life, & synnyng no moore.
- LI. *Item*, That hallowed water, halowed brede, halowed candells, halowed ashes, halowed palme, & such like ceremoneys of the church, are of none effect, & to be taken as trifills & vanities, to seduce the people.
- LII. *Item*, That haly dayes ordeyned & institutd by the church, are not to be observed & kept in reverence. Inasmoch as al dayes & tymes be lyke. And that servile warkes, as plowghing & carting, may be done in the same without any offence at al, as in other ferial dayes.
- LIII. *Item*. That syngyng & saying of mass, matens or even song, is but roryng, howling, whistelyng, mum-

myng, conjuryng & jogelyng. And the playing at the organys a folish vanitie.

Item, That pilgrimage, fasting, almes dede & LIV.
such like, ar not to be used. And that a man is not bound to come to the church, but only to the preaching.

Item, That it is sufficient ynough to beleve, though LV.
a man do no good warkes at all.

Item, Men be not content to preach of certen LVI.
abuses found in pilgrimages, in fasting, in prayer, in invocation of saints, in reverencyng of ymages, in almes dedes, but they woll nedes have the thing self taken away, & not enough the abuses to be reformed.

Item, That by preaching the people hath be LVII.
brought in opinion & beleve, that nothing is to be beleved, except it can be proved expresly by scripture.

Item, That it is preached & taught, that foras- LVIII.
moche as Christ hath sheede his blodde for us, & redemyd us, we nede not to do any thing at al, but to beleve & repent, if we have offended.

Item, That ther is of late a new *confiteor*, made LIX.
after this form, “ Confiteor Deo cœli & terræ, peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione & opere, mea culpa. Ideo deprecor majestatem tuam, ut tu, Deus, deleas iniquitatem meam, & vos orare pro me.”

Item, That it is preached, that bycause auricular LX.
confession hath brought furth innumerable vices, it is clerly to be taken away.

Item, That the canon of the mass is the comment p. 179.
of summe folish unlearned priest: & that the names LXI.
of the saints ther expressid ar not to be rehersed.

Item, That water runnyng in the chanell or com- LXII.
mon ryver, is of as grete vertue, as the halow water.

Item, That halowed water is but jogelled water. LXIII.

Item, That the holy water is moore savorer to LXIV.
make sawce with than the other, bycause it is mixed with salt; which also is a very good medicen for an

horse with a gald back : yea, if ther be put an onyon therunto, it is a good sawce for a gygget of motton.

LXV. *Item*, That no humayn constitutions or lawes do bynd any christen man, but such as be in the gospel, Pauls Épistells, or in the New Testament. And that a man may breke them without any offence at all.

LXVI. *Item*, That besides seditious preaching, lettyng unitie to be had, there are many sclanderous & erronyous bokes, that have ben made, & suffered to go abroad indifferently. Which bokes were the moore gladly bought bycause of those words *cum privilegio*; which the ignorant people toke to have ben an expresse approbation of the king, where it was not so indede.

LXVII. *Item*, That where hertofore divers bokes have ben examyned by persons appoynted in the convocation, & the bokes found ful of heresies & erronyous opinions, & so declared, the said bokes are not yet by the bysshops expresly condempnyd, but suffered to remayn in the hands of the unlearned people. Which ministreth to them matter of argument, & much unquietnes within the realme.

LXVIII. *Item*, That apostates, abjured persons, & of notable yll conversation & infamed, & without licence of the kings grace, or the ordinary, have taken upon them to preach sclanderously.

NUMBER LXXIV.

The opinion of the clergy of the north parts in convocation, upon ten articles sent to them.

Cleopatra,
E. 5.

To the first article we think, that preaching against purgatory, worshipping of saints, pilgrimage, images, & al books set forth against the same, or sacraments or sacramentals of the church, be worthy to be reprov'd & condemned by convocation; & the pain to be executed that is devised for the doers to

the contrary. And process to be made hereafter in heresie, as was in the days of K. Henry IV. And the new statutes wherby heresies now lately have been greatly nourished, to be annulled & abrogated. And that the holydayes may be observed according to the lawes & laudable customes. And that the bidding of beadys & preaching may be preserved, as hath been used by old custome.

To the second, we think the kings highnes, ne any temporal man, may not be supreme head of the church by the lawes of God, to have or exercise any jurisdiction or power spiritual in the same. And al acts of parlament made to the contrary to be revoked. p. 180.

To the third we say, we be not sufficiently instructed in the fact, ne in the process therin made: but we refer it to the determination of the church, to whom it is upheld.

To the fourth we think, that no clerk ought to be put to death without degradation by the lawes of the church.

To the fifth we think, that no man ought to be drawn out of sanctuary, but in certain cases expressed in the lawes of the church.

To the sixth we say, that the clergy of the north parts hath not granted, nor consented to the parliament, of the tenths or first frutes of the benefices, in the convocation. And also we can make no such personal graunt by the lawes of the church. And we think, that no temporal man hath authority by the laws of God to claim any such tenths or first frutes of any benefice or spiritual promotion.

To the seventh we think, that lands given to God, the church, or religious men, may not be taken away, & put to profane uses, by the laws of God.

To the eighth we think, that dispensations upon just *causes* lawfully graunted by the Pope of Rome, to be good, & to be accepted. And pardons have been allowed by general counceles, of Lateran & Vienna, & by laws of the church.

To the ninth we think, that by the law of the church, general councils, interpretations of approved doctors, & consent of christen people, the Pope of Rome hath been taken for the head of the church & vicar of Christ: & so ought to be taken.

To the tenth we think, that the examination & correction of deadly sin belongeth to the ministers of of the church, by the laws of the same; which be consonant to Gods laws.

Furthermore, we think it convenient, that the laws of the church may be openly read in universities, as hath been used heretofore. And that such clerks as be in prison, or fled out of the realm, for withstanding the kings superiority in the church, may be set at liberty, & restored without danger. And that such books & works as do entreat of the primacy of the church of Rome, may be freely kept & read, notwithstanding any prohibition to the contrary. And that the articles of *premunire* may be declared by acts of parliament: to the intent no man may be in danger therof without a prohibition first awarded. And that such *apostatats* as be gon from religion, without sufficient & lawful dispensation of the see of Rome, may be compelled to return to their houses. And that al sums of mony, as tenths, first fruites, & other arrerages graunted unto the kings highnes by parliament, or convocation, & due to be paid before the first day of the next parliament, may be remitted & forgiven, for the causes & reasons above expressed.

And we, the said clergy, say, that for lack of time & instruction in these articles, & want of books, we declare this our opinion for this time; referring our determination in the premisses to the next convocation.

Also we desire, that the statute commanding the clergy to exhibit the dispensations graunted by the pope, before the feast of Michaelmas next coming, may be revoked at the next parliament.

NUMBER LXXV.

p. 181.

Articles for the Lady Mary to answer & subscribe.

FIRST, Whether shee doth recognize & knowledge ^{MSS.} the kings highnes for her soveraign & liege lord of ^{D. G. H.} this imperial crown & royalm of England: & woll ^{Eq.} & doth submit her self to his highnes, & to all & singular lawes & statutes of this royalm, as becometh every true & faithful subject of this royalm to do?

Also, Whether shee woll with all her power & qualities, that God hath endued her withall, not onely obey, keep & observe all & singular lawes & statutes of this royalm; but also set forth, advance & maintain the same to thuttermost of her power, according to her most bounden duty?

Also, Whether shee woll recognize, accept, take & repute the kings highnes to bee supream head in erth under Christ of this Church of England, & utterly refuse the Bishop of Romes pretenced power & jurisdiction, heretofore usurped within this realm, according to the statutes & lawes of this realm, made & ordained in that behalf?

Also, Whether shee doth accept, take & freely think in her heart, without dissimulation, that the marriage celebrated between the kings highnes & the Lady Katharine, her mother, was plainly & directly against the lawes of God, & not dispensable by eny humaine power or authorite. And that the divorce & separation therof is justly & truly done, upon a surc truthe & foundation. And relinquish all manner of remedies & meanys, as wel at the Bishop of Romes hand, as elsewhere, that mought by eny colour empeach or lett the said divorce?

Also, Whether she taketh & accepteth her self to bee illegitimate & bastard by reason of the same unlawful marriage; & wil humbly, according to the truth, recognize her self so to bee: & repent her former obstinacy & wilfulnes; & freely & frankly comyt her self to the king's wil & plesure?

Also, Bee she enquired & examined, for what cause & by whose motion & means shee hath continued & remained in her obstinacy so long; & who did embold & animate her therunto, with other circumstaunces therto appertaining.

Also, What is the cause, that she at this present time, rather than at any other heretofore, doth submit her self, & do other the premisses. And what & who did move her therunto?

p. 182.

NUMBER LXXVI.

A memorial of such articles as were communed & treated of between the kings highnes counsailers & Mon^r. de Tarbes, & Mon^r. Pomeray, the French ambassadors, concerning the marriage between the Lady Mary, the kings daughter, & the Duke of Orleans.

MSS.
G. H. Eq.
Aur.

FIRST, Wheras the said ambassadors on their masters behalf, required that the said Lady Mary bee given in marriage to the said duke, & declared the great & singular desire & affection the king their master had the same should take effect: the said counsailors answered, that the kings highnes their master was for his part no less desirous the same should succeed, than the king his brother was. Especially for that his highnes trusted, that therby the amitie & friendship between them should bee the more augmented, established, & so derived & propagated to their posterities, to the weal of both their realms.

Second, Wheras the said ambassadors required, that the kings highnes should make & declare the said Lady Mary to bee legitime; so as shee might be preferred in the succession & inheritance of this realm, before all others, the kings daughters already, or hereafter to bee procreated: the said counsailors on the kings highnes their masters behalf answered,

that hee neither wold ne cowld do that injurie & pre-judice, &c. *ut in articulo.*

Thirdly, Concerning the traduction of the said Duke of Orleans into the realm of England, there to bee educated & instructed in the tongue & manners of the people there: wheras the said ambassadors resolutely answered, that the king their master would in no wise consent, the said duke his son shuld bee bound to make his abode & demore here continually: but onely that hee shuld come & tarry here for one month or two; & afterward to return again into France at his plesure & liberty: the said counsailors answered, that in that matter they considered specially the profit, honour & surety, which shuld redound unto the said duke therby: besides divers other respects: which if the French king himself wold maturely weigh & expend, as they bee worthy, hee shuld wel perceive, that it were more than necessary, that the said duke shuld bee brought into this realin, & so afterward make his abode here continually.

Notwithstanding forasmoch as there were many other pacts, conditions & assurances, to bee treated, concluded & agreed vpon, between the kings their masters; without the which the said marriage cowld, ne might honorable, & to both their satisfactions, bee accomplished: & for as moche also as the said ambassadors had no power or commission from their master to treat or conclude vpon the said other articles: the said counsailors answered, that being once the said other articles concluded & agreed upon, & such assurances made on either part, as shal bee requisite, the kings highnes their master, bein never minded to detein him, the said duke, here as a captive in thraldome or bondage, but to use him as his own son in honour & felicitie; & finally, to advance him unto the crown imperial of this his realm, in such case as is before specified; wold not shew himself very difficile, requiring to have the said duke to abide here continually, but woll hereafter condescend to bee contented upon soche reasonable time for his

p. 183.

demore here, as shalbee thought necessary & requisite for the attaining of the favour & benevolence of the people, of the language & lawes of the country, &c.

NUMBER LXXVII.

Roland, Bishop of Coventry & Litchfield, & Lord President of the Marches of Wales, to the L. Crumwel: upon his letter to the said bishop, to take care of the Welsh men. With articles sent to him against the Bishop of S. Davids, viz. Dr. Barlow.

Cleopatra,
E. 1

RIGHT honourable & my singular good lord, after my hearty commendations, it shal be to give the same like thanks for your lordships most loving letters to me directed & delivered lately by this bearer. And as for these parties of Wales, my trust is they be of as good towardnes to do the kings grace service, with as good an intent, as any of his subjects living; & to my knowledg little among them conceived of the matters in England. For so much their language doth not agree to the advancement therof: I wrote to your lordship long heretofore, that at Ludlow was no maner of artillery, saving a little harness I have gathered together from good Sir Richard Herbert, who doth the kings gr. good service daily, & wil do. And yet, my lord, the Earl of Worcester, wrot to me to redeliver the same. But I made him an answer therin. I shal most heartily pray you to remember the commission, that this council hath so long sued for to your lordship. For I have begun to repair this castle, & wil further, if I may have the commission; without which this council can do no good service here, as Mr. Englefield did inform your lordship, who hath him heartily recommended to the same. The proclamations as yet for the shire grounds be not come: whereby justice cannot be ministred in Wales. And

what may ensue by the tract wherof, I doubt. For I am daily called upon from every part at this time, being the time of keeping of their courts.

And I heartily thank your lordship for Germyn, desiring the same to have him in remembrance: & yet once again for my servant Lewis ferme to Whitney, if it may so be. And also to be good lord to my cosin Robinson at this my desire.

Also I received these articles here enclosed, from S. Davies. Wherin, & in other such like in that person, if your lordships plesure were the same to stay for the time, the common people would the better be content. Here is somewhat spoken towards him, that I am sorry to hear. My duty is to intimate the same to your lordship, for that further inconveniences do not ensue. There is also a freer Austin, prior of Woodhouse in the Cleeland, which hath not only dissipated the goods of his monastery; but also without any authority changed his vesture, & in this ruffling time Geo. Blount attached him at Baudeley, & so keepeth him, til your lordships plesure be known. For I have none authority in these matters. If your lordship would cause a substantial man to be put into that place, it would much edify to the good acceptation of that country: who be as tall men & handsome, as any the kings gr. hath, & of the honor of Wigmore. Other newes be none, but al in quietnes & peace here, thanks be to Almighty God; who send your good lordship a merry new year, to your hearts comfort. From Wigmor Castle, the xv day of January.

p. 184.

Wee have here & in other places a great number of smal felonies; whom we cannot dispatch, until we know the kings graces plesure for shere grounds.

Your lordships most bounden

ROLAND CO. & LITCHE.

*Articles against Barlow, Bishop of S. Davids, and
against Tally, a preacher.*

Concio Meneven facta 12 Novembr, 1536.

IMPRIMIS, he affirmed & said, that whensoever two or three simple persons, as two coblers or weavers, were in company, & elected, in the name of God, there was the true church of God.

Item, That it is not expedient to man, to confess himself, but only to God. For he wil at al times accept, & take any penitent man or woman to his mercy, if he cannot expediently have a priest.

Item, That there is, nor was any purgatory, but only a thing invented & imagined by the Bp. of Rome, & our priests, to have trentals, and other mundane lucre therby only.

Item, If the kings gr. being supreme head of the Church of England, did chuse, denominate & elect any lay man, being learned, to be a bishop, that he so chosen, without mention made of any orders, should be as good a bp. as he is, or the best in England.

*Concio Tallei habita Meneviæ coram episcopo ibid.
ac alijs palam, the xix. of the aforesaid month.*

WHEN & where he affirmed, that in time past, there was none that did preach, or declare the word of God truly: nor the truth was never known til now of late.

Item, That there ought no maner of reverence to be given to any saint or angel in heaven: and in case any were given, the same saint therewith was made an idol; & that the same honor or worship was idolatry, & nothing else.

Item, That if the souls, that be departed, have any need of our prayers (if it might do them any good) yee shal pray that Christ the sooner, at the contemplation of our prayers, may take them to the fruition of his glory.

These articles were exhibited & delivered unto the reverend father in God, the l. president of the kings council in the Marches of Wales, 11th of Jan. the 28th year of the king by me,

ROGER LEWIS, bachelour of civil law,
abiding in S. Davids.

NUMBER LXXVIII.

*Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, to the L. Crumwel;
concerning a book taken at Newcastle, called, The
Souls Garden.*

RIGHT Honorable, in my humble maner I recommend me unto your good mastership: advertising the same, that there is comen to my hands a little book printed in English, called *Ortulus Animæ*: which was brought in by some folkes of the Newcastle, & as I am informed there be very many lately brought into the realm, chiefly into London, & into other haven-townes. Which books, if they may be suffered to go abroad, be like to do great harne among the people. For there is in them a manifest declaration against the effect of the act of parlament lately made, for the establishment of the kings highnes succession, as ye shal perceive more plainly in reading the place your self. Which declaration is made in the kalendar of the said book about the end of the month of August, upon the day of the decollation of S. John Baptist, to shew the cause why he was beheaded. When ye find the day, read the gloss, that is set in the midst among the dominical letters al that side, as far as he speaketh of that matter: and your mastership shal forthwith perceive what harm it may do, if the book may be suffered to go abroad. Wherefore if it be so seen to the kings highnes, to whom it may like you to shew it, best it were that letters were directed to al haven-townes, & other places, where it is thought any such books to be, to cause them to be diligently searched, & to

Cott. Libr.
Eleopatra,
E. 5.

be brought unto the kings hands; forbiding the said books to be sold. That book that came to my hands I do send your mastership herewith, & have already written as effectually, as I can, to the maior of the Newcastle, that he search out al such as can be found in the Newcastle, & to seize them in the kings name; & to get knowledge, if he can, who were the bringers in of them. And if the k. h. or at lest your self, would write unto him to do the same, I think it
 p. 186. would be done with more diligence. And surely in my mind, good it were that like letters were sent to Hull, & to other havens. The k. h. & his most honourable council may more plainly perceive, by reading the place aforesaid, what harme may ensue by going abroad of the said books. And thus Almighty Jesus preserve your good mastership to his pleasure, & yours, & have you in his blessed protection. From Stockton; the vii day of July.

Your humble bedeman,

CUTB. DURESME.

NUMBER LXXIX.

Instructions for the L. Privy Seal; being a letter to him, concerning the Bishop of Lincoln, & his archdeacon, touching the bishops demand for prestations.

Cleopatra,
 F. 1.

WHAT appertaineth to the office of an archdeacon, & wherupon his revenues groweth, & what heretofore hath therunto appertained. Procurations, synodals, Peter-pence, pensions, indemnities, fines of testaments, vacations of benefices, installations of abbots.

Procurations be due for visitation. The archdeacon is bound yearly to visit al his archdeaconry throughout. Then to enquire of al crimes, & misgovernance of the people, as wel the clergie, as the lay fee, by churchwardens & other: & to reform whatsoever they find otherwise than wel, either committed hainously against the laws of God, or the

ordinances of the prince, for a quiet common weal, dissonant to Gods laws, to mans laws & politick order of the world: To reform the same, either by godly persuasion, and good advise, by combination, or by pains & penalties, according to the humility & humble subjection of the offender, & repentance of his offence. For this his visitation he hath *procurations*.

Synodals be due for the *Sene* kept at Easter by the archdeacon, or his officer, calling together the persons, the vicars & parish-priests; diligently enquiring if every of the same do, & have done, their duties accordingly to the laws of God, laws of the prince established, & the ordinance of the church accustomed; & have godly & diligently ministred al sacraments & sacramentals to their parishoners at that Easter then past, & so in the year before. For this kind of visitation *synodals* be due to the archdeacon. Which the bishop would now in any wise have: because of a decretal, that saith, *Quod episcopo debentur synodalia*. And for that text now would the bishop turn from his Peter-pence, calling them *Prestations*, or pensions, & would have them now due for *synodals*, which the archdeacons have had & enjoy these three, six, yea eight hundred years, without lett, interruption, or contradiction of any bishop. My synodals be not nineteen pounds by year. And yet must I give to my official five mark p. 187. fee yearly, & as much to my register. And also bear their costs yearly in riding to the *Sene*, four or five pounds. So have I not ten pounds clear for my synodals. But put the case, that these synodals were the bps. yet wherfore should I be bound to gather his synodals? Or why should I give twenty nobles fee to my officers to serve him, & to be his collector? *Dicat Apollo*.

Peter-pence. Al archdeacons of England gathered Peter-pence, of every fire-house within every parish, one penny: which were graunted, eight hundred year past, by King Hyno, (Ina) & after confirmed by

Inas; then by Offa, Rex Marchiorum, (Merciorum) by Arnulphus, by Alerudes, (Alured) & others mo so following; & by King John for his time. After some antick (antique) authors, they were graunted for a yearly preste, or a perpetual yearly subsidy “Episcopo Romano. Præstabantur in subsidium episcopo Romano,” saith divers authors. Others say they were given to a school in Rome, to the maintenance of English scholars there, as Fabian & Guido, with others. But now the archdeacon, after these pence gathered, payd the same in part, or al, to the collector of Rome, saving the archdeacons of Lincoln & Sarum. These payd the pence gathered to the bp.: & the bp. payd to the collector, & had his acquietance, by the name of Peter-pence. The archdeacons had their acquittance of the bp. by the name of *Prestation-mony*. So the Bishop of Lincoln paid, but he gathered none: the archdeacon gathered & pay’d, not to the collector, but only to the bp. So finally, seing the bp. never gathered Peter-pence, & yet payd them to the collector every year; & the archdeacons gathered them yearly, & payd none to the collector, but only to the bp., what should the bp. his demand other be, than for Peter-pence?

To prove that this word *prestation* is very Peter-pence, it is too manifestly declared in the Bp. of Rome his own law, in an epistle decretal sent “Episcopo cantuar. & suffraganeis suis; (the Bp. of Lincoln one of his suffragans; & perchance it was meant for him, that was then Bp. of Lincoln, as he were as nigh scraping, as the bp. that is now at this present tyme) “Textus est in capitulo de censibus” in the decretals, “Et quæ de avaritia. Verba sunt hæc.” “Nè gravetis parochias & ecclesias vestras propter visitationem beati Petri, cum feceritis collectam denariorum.” Glossator Bernardus, one of the Bp. of Rome his secretaries, expounds “hoc verbuni COLLECTAM. Collecta, inquit, est præstatio quædam, quam Anglici solvunt ecclesiæ Romanæ, & debet esse moderata. Nota. So that prestations

is taken for Peter-pence in the Bp. of Romes his own law.

Pensions or *indemnities* be these: when a church is impropred to an abby or a college, then the archdeacon for ever lesithe the induction-mony, & in recompence of that he shal have yearly out of the said benefice so impropred, XII pence, or II shillings for a yearly pension, more or less, as it is agreed at the time of the improperation. And this mony is called *Pensions* or *Indemnities*. And like as the archdeacon *conservatur indemnus* by this his yearly pension payd in the lieu of the induction; even so *episcopus conservatur indemnus*, & hath a like pension for his indemnity in the lieu of his institution, which he likewise calleth his *pension*.

Fines or *probates* of testaments be equally divided *inter episcopum & archidiaconum*, at this present time, & so hath long continued. p. 188.

Vacations of benefices. Vacations be now extinct. Wherof the bp. had two parts, & the archdeacon the third part. Which was worth to the archdeacon *communibus annis* VI, VII, or VIII pounds.

Installations of abbots, priors, and prioresses. Of every such installation the archdeacon had five mark: which although they be extinct, yet pay I the yearly tenth therof.

Finally, to conclude of the premisses. For Peter-pence he can have nothing; *quia non sunt*. For procurations nothing: for synodals nothing: for fines of testaments he hath half: for vacations nothing: for installations nothing: for my pensions & indemnities nothing. And so I pray you conclude that he have nothing: for al the books that he hath exhibited & shewed to your lordship, they be of his own register. And al those containing no more, but that the archdeacon pay'd him yearly *prestations* in time past: & that he had that mony as an annual rent this hundred year. And al that is true; & should yet have had it, if Peter-pence had continued. But now *cessante causa cessat effectus*.

NUMBER LXXX.

Starky to Pole ; for his answer to two points relating to the kings cause.

Cleopatra,
E.6. p.364.

SIR, you wrot before in our princes cause of your own motion : wherin you showed lovingly the dangers that might of his cause follow. But the matter it self, as it is here by the king sharply judged, you did not almost touch. Wherefore now the king, as I have written, requireth your learned judgment; & that you should leave your prudent & witty policy, til you be required. The points be these, which tho you right wel of your self know, yet I wil put them a little after my mind before your eyes.

“ I. An matrimonium cum relictis fratris, ab eo cognita, sit jure divino licitum.”

In this, & in the rest also, tho the kings plesure be you should give place to no mans persuasion, nor authority, as I am sure you wil not; yet for the love that I bear unto you, & for the desire that I have, that you should se the judged truth, I wil note certain places of weight, after mine opinion, in these things to be considered, ever leaving your own judgment free.

And first for the point, consider how this law is rooted in nature : ponder it by this rule, if it seem to you good: al things which bind man to the observation therof: al laws written, put aside convenient for the conservation of the civil politic life, universally convenient to the dignity of the nature of man; al such, I think, is rooted in the law of nature. Apply this rule without affection, & with a right ey examine it in this cause.

p. 189.

And then for the second point, *an liceat dispensare*. Easy I think it shal be to find the popes power extendeth not therto. And tho it were expedient for the worldly policy for to have dispensation, as it was peradventure in the king his cause; yet it is not expedient any one man to have such

power, to break such law so rooted in nature. And upon this ground it appears to me further, the pope should not have power, not only to dispenſe with any laws so rooted in nature; but also, that he hath not power: (nor convenient is it, that he should have: yea, tho he were made head of the church) to dispenſe with laws made in general counſels, catholic laws, & universal grounds, ordained for the conſervation of christian life in al Christs church. Tho he hath used the contrary, it is, I think, a miſuſe & uſurped. By the reason wherof now it is ſpied, now it doth fal, now it is plucked juſtly away.

Look also & ponder this, whether ever the whole authority of making, of abrogating, of diſpenſing with catholic laws, & universal grounds of christian living, were ever given, & translated to the pope by any law written in general counſels. Which were neceſſary to find, if we should attribute ſuch authority. As to the emperors, we find “*Legem regiam, qua potestas senatus & populi erat in principem collata.*”

II. The ſecond principal matter, “*An ſuperioritas, quam multis in ſæculis Romanus pontifex ſibi vindicarit, ſit ex jure divino.*”

Here you muſt weigh the places of the goſpel & ſcripture. Wherin I think you ſhal find none manifeſtly proving that. The common places you know how that they are underſtood. Contrary therto divers & many. As when the diſciples of Chriſt contended for ſuperiority, you know what Chriſt ſaid. You know, how S. Paul confeſſeth, he knew only Chriſt for Head. Civil & politic heads he confeſſed many, *Sed jure divino nullum.*

Further, look to the beginning of the church, when the truth therof was better known than it is now. In the Acts of the Apoſtles you ſhal find no ſuch thing. And after the apoſtles dayes, the four patriarchs of Jeruſalem, of Antioch, of Conſtantinople, of Rome, had among them no ſuperiority.

Look further, how the Greeks fel from the church

catholic, as we cal now: chiefly, for because the Bps. of Rome would be chief heads. You know what is to be given to the judgment of the Greeks in the interpretation of the scripture better than I do.

The contention between Peter & Paul takes away such superiority as is given to the successor of Peter. Ponder, why more from the Bp. of Antioch than of Rome, such superiority is taken away; seing Peter was bp. of both?

These certain poynts I now write to you, “Non quia præjudicium aliquod afferrent.” The kings plesure is, you should, without any prejudicial affection taken of any man upon one part or other, with a sincere mind, & with that light that God hath given you in scripture, & in learning, give your sentence.

p. 190. And as touching the policy of both the matters, & of bringing them to effect (which his grace hath now done) whether it be wel done or evil, he requireth no judgment of you, as of one, that in such things have no great experience as yet. As whether it be convenient, that there should be one head in the church, & that to be the Bp. of Rome. Set these aside: and in the case of matrimony, whether the policy he hath used therein be profitable to the realm, or no, leave that aside. Only shew you, whether if the first matrimony were to make, you would approve that then, or no, & the cause why you would not: and thus weigh the thing in itself, as it is in his own nature, & put apart fear of al danger, hope of al good, which should succede, & hangeth upon worldly policy; & so clearly, without affection either of king or queen, briefly give your sentence.

And this you shal first honor God and truth; & second also, satisfy the king: which said to me these words, that “he would rather you were buried there, than you should, for any worldly promotion & profit to your self, dissemble with him, in these great & weighty causes.”

This you have my mind, & the kings plesure withal. And if case be, that you reach to the judged

truth, you need not to fear, after my mind, that men should lay to you, lightness of mind & changing of sentence. For as far as I can conjecture, you did offer me nothing in the cause, but only put before his eyes the dangers that hanged upon worldly policy. If I remember, this you did. I cannot wel tel: for I never se, nor read your book but once, as you know wel. At which time it seemed to me you wrot so profitably, that it put me into a fear of dangers too. But, I trust, the goodness of God, & providence of our most wise prince, shal avert & turn al such calamities, by mans conjecture foreseen, from this our country.

Direct your knowledge, if you se need, by Master Gaspero, the Bp. of Chete, with other such men of high learning & judgment.

NUMBER LXXXI.

Starky to Pole; expostulating with him for his book against the king.

MUCH I have mervailed, Master Pole, al this year past, both of your seldom & short writing to me; considering the continual diligence used upon my behalf ever towards you. And tho of late at the first coming of your servant, when he brought your book, I judge, that you peradventure wrot not, because you were so occupied in the first setting out of your matter, in writing to the kings highnes, wherin you had been before time somewhat slack; & so had little leisure: yet now at his second return, when you wrot to divers others of your friends, I looked to have had some one word written unto me. For that methought our friendship required. Wherefore then I began plainly with my self to judge your mind without cause alienate, as methought; & most justly I might accuse you of unkindnes, which used toward me such continual silence. For this I have

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p. 191.

ever reckoned, that diversity of opinion in such things, which pertain not of necessity to mans salvation, should never break love & amity betwixt them, which have judgment & discretion; no more than doth dulnes or sharpnes in the sight of the ey: wherein one friend to be angry with another, because he seeth further, or not so far as doth he, is very smal reason. For as the one should cause no anger, so the other should breed no envy. So that tho I varied fro you in the judgment of the matter, yet your silence declared much ingratitude towards me.

And this count I made before I read your book. But after such time as I did read the same, & weighed your judgment therin, I was nothing sory of this your silence, but rather glad, that you so used your self towards me. For his letters to read, who hath so little regard of his masters honor, & so little respect of his friends & country, (as in your writings you plainly declared) I have little plesure. Wherefore though of late I had determined never to write to you again, yet, after I had read your book, I was so affected, & with your ingratitude towards your prince & country so offended, that I could not temper my self, nor satisfy my mind without some declaration therof, by writing to you, shewed. And so now even as you seemed to me, “*Illa tua oratione principem & patriam, tuo quidem iudicio, pereuntem, extremis quasi verbis compellare;*” so shal I “*Te insanientem, mea sententia, amicum extrema quasi voce salutare.*” For this I purpose shal be the last letter that ever I shal hereafter to you write, *donec resipiscas*. Wherin I wil not enter to dispute the ground of the matter, which requireth rather a book than a letter; but only I shal a little open to you the great imprudence & folly, the detestable unkindnes & injury shewed in your sentence both toward your prince & country. By the reason wherof, except you shal take heed & consider the matter in time with better judgment, you shal be utterly cast away your self with this contempt of your country,

& this arrogant despising of al the judgments therin. Wherefore, Master Pole, I shal pray you by al such love, as I have ever born to you, which I promise you is greater than ever I bare to any natural brother, to hear me a little, & weigh my words indifferently.

And first, Master Pole, how I was affected with reading of your book, I shal a little touch. At such time as your letter was delivered to the king, tho you wrot not to me, I forgetting not the office of a friend, requested that your book might be committed to the examination of them, which both had learning to judge, & to weigh the matter indifferently. The which I promise you was done. And to them I, as your friend, was joyned also. In the reading wherof, altho we loved you al intyrelly, yet your corrupt judgment in the matter, & your detestable unkindnes towards your prince, so offended us al, that many-times our ears abhorred the hearing. And as for me, I promise, at the first reading, I was so amazed & astonied with the matter, that I could not wel judg, I wist not with what spirit it was written withall; & ever methought it should be some dream, or at the least no oration of Master Pole; whom I ever noted to be the most addict to the honor of the prince, & wealth of his country, that ever yet I knew. Wherefore I obtained your book to over-read my self alone: yea, & after yet with my Lord of Durham, I read it most diligently, observing & noting the whole order & process therof. And when I had read it after this maner, I was more astonied than I was before. For the comparing the head to the end, & considering the whole circumstance of the matter, plainly to say to you ever as I think, therin appeared to me the most frantick judgment that ever I read of any learned man in my life. For herein lyes the sum of your book: because we are slipped from the obedience of Rome, you judg us to be separate from the unity of the church, & to be no members of the catholic body, but to be worse than Turks & Saracens. Wherefore you rail upon our prince, to bring

him *ad penitentiam*, more vehemently than ever did Gregory against Julian Apostata, or any other against such tyrants as persecuted Christs doctrine. Upon this point you have pretended, al that sharpnes of your oration to spring of love. Yet be you assured, none are so blinded but to judge it a very foolish love, which bringeth forth against a prince such a bitter, sharp & slanderous oration.

Wherefore, Master Pole, weigh this cause yet a little, & despise not the consent of your country, & of al the learned men therin, with too much arrogancy. Byld (ponder) your vehement & frantic oration. But alas! Master Pole, what a blindnes is this in you thus to judg your master upon so light an occasion? For tho we be slipt from the obedience of Rome, denying any superiority to be due therto from the law of God, yet we be not slipt "A fide Romana, nec a Petri cathedra." We observe & keep the same faith, which from the beginning hath been taught in Rome. The which whosoever keepeth, never slippeth *a sede Petri*, tho he never hear of any higher power, or superiority, to be given to the Bp. of Rome. You therefore abuse your self mervailously, to judg us to be separate from the unity of the church, because we have reject this superiority. I mervail that you consider it not, how the very christian unity stands upon S. Paulys doctrin, in the unity of faith & of spirit, & in a certain knitting together of our hearts by love & unity; which may rest in al kind of policy. For doubtles this superiority of Rome sprang first of policy, as it is evident by old story. And Constantine was he that gave therto first authority of al - - - - - power to superiority - - - - - which by others was confirmed, increased. So, as it began by mans wit & institution, I think it should end by like reason. For in the expres wil & word of God it hath no such root & ground, as to you it appeareth, following & cleaving more to the consent of the church, than to the words of scripture, or to any reason drawn out of

the same. Wherin I wonder much at your simplicity, to think that the consent of the church maketh things necessary to salvation. For hereby you might confirm al the rites & customes of the church used from the beginning, to be grounds of our faith, & of necessity to be received to our salvation. For by one consent many of them have been approved this thousand years, I think, & more. Wherefore by your ground the alteration of any one of them shall cause separation from the unity of Christs church. The which to affirm, I trow, be an extreme madnes. And so tho the Bp. of Rome hath been head of al bishops this 500 years, "*Consensu totius ferè ecclesiæ occidentalis;*" yet I suppose that this consent can no more make him *Caput universalis ecclesiæ*, than the consent of us in England hath made the Bp. of Canterbury to be the head, & primate of al other bishops with us, by Gods law. The which primacy I think you judg not to be grounded in Gods word. But even as this primacy, for an order of synods & counsels among us, was by man devised; so was the primacy of Rome by man ordered & invented at such time as a council general of al christian nations was first convocate & assembled: wherefore by this reason I wil as wel confirm the one, as you shal the other.

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And as touching places of scripture, wherby you confirm the primacy, you follow the vulgar train of the latter doctors, which violently draw them to the setting forth of the see of Rome: forgetting the purpose of the antient doctors of our religion. The which exalting "*Sedem Romanam & cathedram Petri,*" ever meant therby "*Fidem, quæ Petrus præ cæteris professus est, & Romæ docuit;*" & for because the faith of Christ there took most notable increase, & from thence was derived to the west parts of the world. Therefore was thither in al doubts chief recourse, and that see was most praised, & preferred above others, as a place of counsel, & not of higher power & authority. This testifieth Jerome,

Cyprian, with al the antiquity. But I wil not now further enter to dispute. Howbeit I cannot but mervail, how you could (letting these things fal out of your consideration) suffer your self to be blinded by such simple & slender grounds, neither rooted in scripture, nor reason deduced of the same. But run out with tragical exclamations against the prince, as though he were a Turk, because he taketh upon him to be head of the church of England. Wherin also you deceive your self by a false ground wonderfully. For in the comparing of the office of a prince, and of a bishop together, you appoint the prince to the cure of civil things, & worldly alone; leaving Christs doctrine to the bishops only; as tho the prince were no christen man. You consider not, how the office of a christian prince is to build al his policy upon Gods word, directing al his actions to the setting forth of his glory; & is a minister of Gods word no less, than the bp., & rather more, to say truly. For wheras the bp. hath no further power by the vertue of the gospel, but only to exhort men to follow the same diligently, the prince may not only exhort, but also compel his subjects, to the order of Christs doctrin, violently.

Wherefore when I read your slanderous & abhominable words against our prince in this behalf, as tho he had subverted, by this title, al the whole order of Christs law, preferring worldly things above spiritual; I judged you either to be mad or frantick, forgetting to whom you wrot; so to slander your prince most unkindly; or very ignorant, which could not consider, how that a christen prince, by his very office & duty, hath not only cure & charge & oversight of things pertaining to the worldly life, & civil order, but also of the heavenly doctrin & spiritual policy. For in the joyning of these two lives together, which you seem to separate, stondeth the chief point of true christian civility. And blinded they be, which judge in christendome to be *binas quasdam politias*: wherin as bps. reign in one, so do princes in the other.

This division deceiveth many one. For in Christs religion there is no such necessary distinction. For albeit that I think it nothing convenient, that a prince should exercise the office of a bp., but leave that to his subjects, which profess themselves therto; nor meet it is that a bp. should exercise the office of a prince, but wholly to be intent to the setting forth of the truth of Gods word: yet I se no such repugnance, nor contrariety in this matter by the law of God, but that a bp. might be a prince, & a prince a bishop, as you know it was in the old time before Christs coming. And at the least this I dare boldly affirm, that it is nothing against Gods word, a christen prince to take upon him, as an head of the common wealth, to oversee his bps. & to procure that they do execute their office truly. The which thing only our prince, Master Pole, taketh upon him by his new title, the which you so abhor by your folly. p. 194.

So that al your sharp words used in this matter, contrary to your masters honor, declare in you a marvellous blind & a corrupt judgment, with wonderful ingratitude towards your prince & country. Wherof, Master Pole, what sorrow I have conceived, if I should here be about to open unto you, I should, I think, labour in vain, & of you, peradventure, be little believed. Howbeit yet this I will say, that few there be among al your lovers & friends, which are privy of your judgment, (tho I promise you they al sore lament) that hath conceived more sorrow than I have. For besides the private bands of love, wherby I have been long above others knit unto your friendship, I have openly, sith I came home, at sundry times so praised your learning & judgment, not only to our prince, but to many others, which therof were not fully persuaded, that now the contrary being shewed, my sorrow above others is much increased: yea, & al such hopes, which I had of your vertues, almost vanished away. The which I assure you, for our friendship, grieveth me sore. For ever as methoughts I saw in you a desire to the

ensearching of the truth & verity, so such constant love towards your prince & country, that I could not but think, that these vertues, (which I esteemed to be in you) should at the last bring forth some noble fruit to the honor of your prince, & to the ornament of our country. This hope I had, wherewith, I testify God, I comforted my self as much as I did with few other worldly things.

And this, Master Pole, was not my hope only, but it was common to many other, your lovers & friends, which knew you beside me. Wherefore what sorrow both they & I have taken, by the drowning of this our hope, sith we have perceived, how that by a foolish ground, foolishly of you conceived, you have turned al your learning & eloquence to the dishonoring of your master, slandering of your country, & which is most of al, to the obscuring of the truth; I shal leave, Master Pole, to your consideration, because my pen serveth me not to express the thing fully. And thus I shal - - - - - requiring you by that infinite love, which you say you bear towards your prince & country, to consider the matter with your self a little more groundly. And to cal to remembrance yet once again a little more diligently the tenor of your commission: which was, "That you should, al worldly respects set aside, & al dangerous success, which might succede of the same, ponder the nature of the thing indifferently;" & then, I doubt not, but that you shal yet see, how far wide from the matter you have shapen your oration, which
 p. 195 have here right slenderly touched the ground of the matter, filled your book with lamentable complaints of false grounds conceived: as, that we be slipped from the unity of the church; that we be heretics; that we unworthily put to death the best men in the realm. Upon these grounds moved, you make marvellous digressions, ful of venomous words & great vehemency; as tho they were as true as any word in the gospel: the which be al false; & by light credit of you believed.

For nother we be slipt from christian vnity, which depend upon our head Christ, coupled together by perfect love, faith & charity: nother we be infected, as you think, with heresy, which stonde in al the grounds of scripture stedfastly: nother yet have unworthily put to death the best men of our realm, tho More, Rochester, & Raynolds, with divers others, suffered by their own folly. Which dyed nother for their vertues, nor for the profession of any such matter, which pertaineth to Christ's glory: but only for the superstitious defence of that thing, for the which I think hereafter never wise man wil do; & I would to God they also might have been induced, as the goodnes of the prince greatly desired, to leave their foolish & superstitious obstinacy. Whose example, as I perceive, hath also blinded you as much, peradventure, as any one thing besides, & caused you to fall into this abhominable rayling against your princes actys ingratfully.

But, Master Pole, lift your eyes a little higher in this matter, & regard the order of the primitive church at the beginning; wherein you shal find, contrary to these mens judgments, that Rome never had the primacy of the universal church through the world, but from Constantine's time only it hath beginning: and have not your eyes so much fixed to the trade of the church in these latter dayes, & to the sentence of these latter men, which have drawn scripture therto violently; that which if you had done, & prudently compared the one time with the other, I think you could never have run so headlong to this extreme sentence, & never should have stonde so stiff in the defence of that which in Gods word hath no sure ground. But you have shewed your self, Master Pola, to be led *præjudicijs*; & by the example of them, which were in the world in great reputation, you have suffered your heart to be overrun with affection; the which is plain by the vehement lamentation, which you make of the death of those men, which foolishly did chuse rather to dy,

than to live in their country, delivered from the popes cloaked tyranny. Methought, when I read that part of your oration, I saw your heart so oppressed with sorrow, that you considered not wel what you said : yea, al the process of your oration, methought you forgot to whom you spake, & directed your oration ; tho you oftimes called him prince, you remembred not, I think, how that he was your sovereign lord & master, which hath confirmed to you such incomparable benefits, as hitherto don to no other of his subjects. You never considered, how that he is a prince of high judgment, and great experience. You never set before your eyes his princely stomach & noble courage. For if you had, I can never think, that ever you could have showed such detestable ingratitude, nor have ever been so blinded with affection, as to think, that by your words & sudden oration, you might induce such a
p. 196. king to abrogate al such actys & deeds, before don with mature counsil & deliberation, with such railing, & declaring so corrupt a judgment by affection, to move a prince from his stabled purpose. Then you were plain mad & frantic. And especially now at this time, when al things were settled in quietness : that woman being taken away by the Providence of God, by whom was feared of wise men much trouble & adversity. For at such time as your book was brought to the king, I promise you al men rejoyced in the present state, putting the pope in utter oblivion. There was of him here no regard, or mention, but al things brought to good order with conformitie.

Alas ! Master Pole, what lack of learning & prudence was this, so corruptly to judg the matter ; without all respect of time & person, so foolishly it to handle ? For if you had but considered a little your own person, how much you are above al others bounden to our prince for your education, you could never have distorned your wit & eloquence, unworthily to spot your honour & name, & therby to shame

your self: & judging a princes act so unadvisedly without al learning, honest respect & prudence. And I wot not, whether you did this, moved with a certain indignation, because you have been before time of some men much noted to have over much respect of worldly circumstance, & therby to lack the true judgment of things: & so for the avoiding hereof, for you never loved to be noted to lack any part of judgment, but of al things you most abhorred that name, you are therefore now run to the contrary, & have no respect of worldly things at al. You seem now neither to regard king, friend, nor country, but, as much as lyeth in you, dishonor them al. Inso-much that this I think of you plainly, that if you would set out to the world your sentence to the king written, I would judge you to be one of the most extreme enemies, both to the kings honor, & to al your friends, & to our whole nation, that ever was bred in our country. But I shal never think you to have so little prudence & honesty, nor never to be so mad & frantic, as to do any such detestable deed. But this I judge of the writing of your book, that you being fully persuaded in the contrary opinion, thought frankly to open your judgment therin, & put it to the kings secret consideration. But that you wil common abroad such a venomous book, so ful of defamation to your sovraign lord & master, so slanderous to his actys established, I can never be persuaded; but rather I think. And if you had seen, how that here "*omnia Christi dogmata, & fidei nostræ sacramenta,*" be observed, & how al old & honest customes & rites of the church be kept & maintained, & how christianly God is honoured here among us, I am sure you would never have written so slanderous a book.

But persuaded I am, Master Pole, by common fame & false report, your judgment is corrupted. For I know wel how we be with you wrongly reported. In so much that at my coming home, if I had found al such things to be true, which before my

p. 197. departure thence I heard there openly commoned, I would rather have fled from my country, than have tarried here among such corrupt opinions & heresies. But after I had been here a while, & observed the fashions here of living, christianly used, I perceived then the vanity of fame, wherby for the most part all things are misreported. And this at sundry times I remember I wrote to you most diligently, to the intent I would have had you delivered from such suspicion: certifying you that here among us was little alteration, beside the casting down of this primacy; to which every honest & christian mind may, as I think, wel be obedient, without any offence of Gods law, or injury to his word.

Wherefore, Master Pole, I shall yet once again require you, by the love that you have placed in your heart to your masters honor & natural country, to weigh this matter a little better, & cleave not so stifly to your own opinion: suffer not your self to be blinded with such extreme folly, to judg it necessary to mankind to have but one head in earth, as there is but one God in heaven; the which, by your opinion, must needs follow, if all men were christned, as we believe once they shal be. At the which time I think there shal no man be so mad, as to think, that from one Bp. of Rome all spiritual power shal be derived to the rest of the world; & that of his judgment all mankind shal depend, as upon the only vicar of Christ. For tho it hath been long suffered in this west part of the world, as a thing convenient to the conservation of a certain unity; yet to say, that it should be likewise required in the whole world, if it were christned, appeareth to me an extreme folly. The breaking therfore of order is but a politic matter; like as the institution of the same was at the beginning. Wherefore, Master Pole, blind not your conscience with such simplicity. Suffer not your self to be deceived by a light persuasion, of the which sort your book is ful. For plainly, to say to you even as I think, your arguments in the matter are but vulgar

& common, set out with a more fair face & colour of eloquence, than with any deep & sure ground of truth & equity. In so much I wonder manytimes with my self, how you fel into this extreme sentence of the primacy. Wherin I thought you would have considered the matter with some higher judgment, than doth the common sort of men of weak capacity. I never thought you would have so followed the common error of the world, & left the weighing of the nature of the thing with an indifferent ey. But here I find the proverb of the Greeks to be true, "*Τοιῶτός ἐστιν ἐκάς*," &c. Every man lightly drawes much of maners of them & judgments, with whom he is gladly conversant." The Italian judgments are much bent to defend the honor of their country; which by the primacy of Rome hath been much upholden. By the reason wherof you peradventure have been somewhat more hard to receive the truth of this matter indifferently.

But I trust, Master Pole, hereafter the love of your own country, your bounden duty to your sovereign lord & master shal so prevail in your stomach, that you, in time retracting your sentence, shal to your great comfort enjoy the same quiet. For sorrowful I shal be to se you persist in any such sentence & folly, wherby you should refuse to come to the presence of your prince, & perpetually to lack the fruition of your natural frends & country.

And wheras of late I hear the Bp. of Rome hath invited you to consult with him upon a council general, I would advise you as one of your most loving friends, to consider the cause wel, before you apply; & look wel to the office which you owe to your prince: & suffer not your conscience to be bound with a superstitious knot, conceived by foolish scrupulosity. For if you judge your self more to be bounden to that foreign bp. than to your natural sovereign lord, you shal of al wise men, I think, be judged to lack a great part of wit, & more of vertue & honesty. You shal be judged plainly to be blinded

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with some great affection, & to be an untrue subject unto your master, & an open enemy to your country: which you say you love so intyrelly. Consider therefore this matter with your self earnestly. For there hangeth more therupon, than I fear me you conceive. For this one thing I shal say to you, which I pray you fasten in your breast, that if you follow the breves of the pope to you directed, & busy your self to set forth the sentence, which you have written to the king, blowing up that authority with arrogancy; you shal be noted in the christian common weal as seditious a person & minister, as great a breach to christian unity, as ever hath don * *any others in our dayes*, by their rashness & temerity. For as seditious is he, which al old customes & usages of the church, defendeth over obstinately, as he that without discretion subverteth al rashly.

Therefore, Mr. Pole, revolve this thing well in your own mind; & let not the advice of Cardinal Contarini, nor yet of the Bp. Chete, (if you have comitted your counsils with them) so weigh your stomach, that you forget al humanity: regarding neither prince, country nor friend, for a peevish popish matter. “Nec tibi, Pole, ita imponas, ut cum tuearis hanc pontificis auctoritatem, negotium Christi te agere putes. Ego certè vereor, ne dum hoc agis, christum planè deseras. Quid enim aliud est christum deserere, quàm legitimo principi, qui in bonis artibus te liberaliter educavit, in honestissimis mandatis non obtemperare? Quid dulcissimæ patriæ, quæ te aluit, operam tuam denegare; parentibus & charissimis amicis humani hominis officia non præstare? At dices, et princeps & patria christum deseruere. O Pole, quàm insanis, si proptem unum pontificem desertum, nos christum deseruisse arbitrêre. Ego profectò spero fore, ut post hanc a pontifice defectionem, arctiùs Christo hæreamus.

* In the room of these words was first writ Martyn Luther, but blotted out.

And yet I wil not despair but that you shal hereafter, as a more obedient person to your prince than to the pope, help to set forward at home the truth of Christs doctrine, to his honor & glory. For the which I shal never cease to pray : and that you may se such light of truth, wherby you may both in this case, & in al other, truly serve your prince & country; & that both you & I, with al other, which make profession of Christs name, may also at the last agree together in concord of opinion & unity.

“ Lapsus es, Pole, ab officio humani hominis, qui ob tam levem causam, patriam & parentes & optimum principem deseris : sed ignorantia planè lapsus es ; cui ego omnes omnium errores, juxta Platonem, tribuere soleo.”

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Mr. Pole to the king; who had commanded him home, to explain his book.

PLEASITH it your grace to be advertised, that I have received your most honorable letters, bearing date the 14th of June, delivered me the last of the same. Wherby your grace doth give me to understand, as wel of the receipt of my book, & letters addressed to your gr. & sent by my servant, as also declare your plesure touching the said book, & me the author therof. That wheras there be divers places that cannot so vively be perceived by writing as they should be by conferring the same presently with the writer, your gr. having the desire in al points the book comprehendeth, to penetrate into the right meaning & sentence therof; therupon you declare your plesure, that al excuses set apart, I should with al diligence repair unto your presence. So that, as far as I can learn by your graces letter, (but much more by Mr. Secretary, stirring me more vehemently, & yet most of al by the bearer of both, informed of

Cleopatra,
E. 6.
p. 334.

your plesure by Master Secretary, which hath been most fervent of al touching the suasion of my return,) your expectation at present is, not for any letter of mine, but rather for my person, to appear presently, without delay, afore your gr. for the causes rehearsed. Wherin now, if I, testifying God, that seeth the hearts of men, should this affirm, that there was never thing that I more desired, than to obey your graces commandment in this behalf, & that with al diligence, wherby I might, beside al other commodities of my return, have this one great plesure to be interpreter of mine own writing, (which not sincerely understood, might be cause of many inconveniences) surely I should say none otherwise, than afore God I do think in my heart. But because my coming ensueth not hereof, I should no fail have the less credence, unles that I did declare some great cause, why my will agreing with your graces commandment, nevertheles I do not put the same in execution.

Which cause now I shal shew, wherin needeth no further proces to be used, if I say briefly, That he that calleth me, will not let me come. Then if I say, your gr. that called me, hath put such an impediment in my way, that letteth me, I cannot pas to your gr. except temerariouly, I should cast away my self. This surely & truly, afore God & man, I may say, that being in that case I might go, or run, your gr. calling me unto you. There is no let in this world were able to retain me from coming to your gr. but only that procedeth of your self. Your gr. alone may stop my coming: no man of what condition soever he be, prince or private, no other cause beside. I being as I am now at such liberty, as for any let in these parties, I might come. But now how, & in what maner do I say this, that your gr. doth let me, stop me, & utterly exclude me from coming to you at this time, your gr. having read ony part of my book, I need no great declaration. For this I have there expressed by a long process. But this briefly in plain words. To shew now the same

to your grace : it is the law, the which your gr. wil shal stand in strength, that is in no realme in Christendome used, but in yours ; that we never had in yours but now alate, sineth the time you cast your love & affection to her, which as her deeds declared, never bare love & affection towards you ; by which law every man is made a traitor, that wil not agree to give you title, to make you head of the church in your realm, & so to accept you. This law, so sore in appearance against them that do not agree therunto, with such extremity executed, & put in effect with so sore severity against the best men of your realm, both in vertue & learning, put to execution of death for the same, & suffering the pain of traitors ; which in heart & mind, as al their deeds show from the beginning of their life to the latter dayes, had ever been your most faithful servants : this law, being stil in vigor & strength, against the which in a maner is al the process of my book, your gr. without any further discourse here may soon perceive, if it be a sufficient impediment, that I do not come at this present.

And here your gr. seeth, how I use no excuses for delay of my coming, which you command me utterly to set apart, albeit surely for the hastines of my coming at this time I had many reasonable excuses, as the time of the year is, in these extreme heats, so unreasonable for me to journey, especially as I found my body affect, when that message was brought me, with divers just causes beside. But utterly if I should have run through fire & water, though I had been sick in my bed, when the message came, I think nothing could have let me, but I would have ventured to set forward at your calling. But this cause I have now rehersed must needs take away al such purpose, except I would be accounted a traitor of my own life. For the which I am more bound to answer, than for any other mans beside. My body being not so much mine own possession, as it is of God & Christ, that hath redeemed me. Which I

am bound to keep to his plesure, & not temerariouſly to caſt it away. So that in this your gr. now hearing what a great cauſe I have to let me, or any of my opinion to come, where ſuch laws be executed, I truſt I need to make no further proceſs in juſtifying my remaining in theſe parts, albeit your graces letters cal. To the which, I teſtify God, my mind is more prompter to obey, than your gr. to command, if this great let were not unto me; wherby I cannot but with grievous offence to God put my mind in execution.

And now, as touching the cauſe why your gr. doth cal me; which is for better information & underſtanding of thoſe things written in my book; I cannot tel how much your gr. had read therein; but this I wil ſay (which I think your gr. reading the ſame ſhal find true) that for underſtanding of things written there, I have handled them in ſuch plainnes, clearnes, & copiouſnes, that there needeth very ſmal comment therof, other of me the author, or of any other, for the clear underſtanding, this being my chief purpoſe to make al things clear. And ſo I doubt not, but I have performed in ſuch maner, whoſoever underſtand any thing therein, that hath the leaſt practiſe of ſuch matters, he ſhal underſtand the whole.

p. 201. And if there lack any thing for the underſtanding of my true ſentence & meaning, the which your gr. writeth your deſire chiefly to be enformed of, ſurely it is that thing, the which I cannot give, that is an indifferent mind in the reader, ſuch a mind to the reader as I had, when I writ it, delivered of al affection, but only of the truth, & your gr. honour & wealth: this mind I had when I writ. But whoſo wil ſe that ſame in me, he muſt bring the like with him, & read alſo the whole courſe of my book. For he that readeth one part alone, he may both deceive himſelf, & more be deceived in the true meaning of my ſentence. For in ſome part he ſhal think by my words, I am the greateſt enemy your gr. ever had, & that I mean more the undoing of your honor, than

the maintaining therof. But he that wil compare one part with the other, beginning with the end, & confer the whole process together, tho in some part he shal se the matiers were so sore handled, yet he shal perceive the ground of that sharp handling was rooted of most ardent love, & tended to a most laudible & loving end: & that there was never book written with more sharpnes of words, nor again with more ferventnes of love & affection, to maintain your honor & wealth, both in this world & in another.

Wherefore, as I said, here lyeth al the difficulty to understand my true meaning in the book, to bring an indifferent mind both to your gr. to the cause, & to me: which had, of the understanding the book, who-soever hath any smal practise in that kind of letters, there can be no doubt. For he hath the very key to open the whole secrets of my mind. And as touching my self, this I wil say, taking on my side to record God himself, who knoweth my mind, (which I count he gave me) my whole desire is, was, & ever shal be, that your gr. might reign long in honor, in wealth, in surety, in love & estimation of al men. And this I do say again (remaining those innovations your gr. hath of late made in the church) that the desire that I have, & al that love you, was nor is not ony thing possible to take effect, but rather to be contrary to that I desire, with great loss of honour to stand in great peril divers wayes, not only afore God, but in the face of the world: beginning here that same, which hereafter should be more terrible. This ony man of ony smal prudence might judge, & this was in the mouth & judgment of al men, that ever I could speak withal in such matters, that were at liberty to speak, where they might shew their mind. But this men did not only judge as of a thing to come, but of that they might se dayly, how your honor & estimation is decreased in every mans opinion, & therewith your peril must needs increase. This I testify God, I have not read a prince spoken of more universally with more dishonor, when your actions come abroad

to be known, then I have heard with my ears in divers places, & generally whersoever I have come, to the greatest sorrow that ever I bare in my mind : your actions giving matier to every matier of communication, for the strangenes of them, that in no other realm hath been used. Insomuch that if I should say, that I found my self sometime in place, where I was not known my self, nor your gr. but by those actions ; taking upon me, as I have been wont, openly to defend your cause, if I should say I was in jeopardy of my life among them, to your cause pertained nothing unto, only incitate by the injustice they judged therin, surely I should say none otherwise, than the truth is. And this is most true, that unto this day, touching these innovations, & the acts following, wheras I have spoken with divers, & many of al sorts of men, to find but one, that did praise them or allow them, this afore God I never did.

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But to let this pas now, & to give count to your gr. of my writing, which is my principal intent. The matier being in this case in the estimation of all men that ever I spake withal, cometh then your commandment unto me by Mr. Secretaries letters, that I should write in the matier and shew my sentence in that principal matier, which was ground of al innovation, touching the old ordinances of the church, when you take the name of the highest head of the church in your realm. Here first was al my care; because your gr. grounded your self of certain places of scripture, which divers books written in justification of your cause did express.

The first that ever came to my hands was of Doctor Sampsons. To that I made answer; taking away (as I doubt not, but whosoever read my book shal clearly perceive) al the reasons & arguments (as nothing concluding) that he putteth. Which don, I entred to confirm in his place that head of the church, whom the church so many hundred years hath confessed to be institute by Christ himself, the first institutor of the whole church. And herein I do con-

found al such reasons as Dr. Sampsons book bringeth to the contrary. Which done, because sometimes the verity & justice of a sentence is not only known by way of argument, as it is by the fruit that followeth therof, which fruit standing in the acts, which followed of this title taken, albeit al came by your graces authority, yet I could never persuade my self, that your self did well see or know what they were. For I could never think, that remaining a spark of that generosity of nature, that I ever judged to be in you, that the deeds being of such sort, as every man knoweth they be, you could ever have found in your heart to have don them, or suffered them to be don in your realm. Which deeds, with the maintenance of your sentence, bringing not only great dishonor to your gr. but manifest jeopardy & peril divers wayes, both afore God & man, touching your self, & your whole state: to remedy this in any part there could be taken none other way, but so to manifest the qualities of those, that you might your self se what you had don, to what dishonor, in what peril you had cast your self & the whole realm. For this known, it were not possible, remaining any sparkle either of goodnes of nature, or grace of God, but you should abhor them, more than any other man, & seek forthwith for remedy: which stondesth only in returning to the ordinances of the church.

But al resteth in making you to know what you have don; considering that he that was counted the wisest of al princes, either afore him, or after him, (which was Solomon) made divers great errors & offences (wherof the grievousness & jeopardy he saw) & at the doing being blinded by the same, that took also knowledg from your grace, which was by inordinate affection, which he bare to women. Wherefore as I say, al the whole matier touching the recovery of your honor, & deliverance of al jeopardy & peril, both afore God & man, it dependeth vpon this, how your gr. might be made to know, what you have don. Which not brought to pass, there was no hope of

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any goodnes. Nor there was never man yet, prince or other in this world, that by offence was forth of the grace & favor of God, that ever returned without knowledging the same to do amiss. For whoso continueth defending his act, he augmenteth his dishonor, & what peril dependeth therof, by that means to make it greater: so that I say in al such al resteth, that the delinquent do know he hath don amiss.

But now here is al the difficulty in a prince: who is he that wil tel him his fault? Who is he that hath more need, having a thousand part more occasion to fal than other? Who is he that wil not rather maintain by words & say, it is wel, when it is amiss; fearing if he should other, he should displease his prince? Or if there be ony man, that hath that zeal & love to his princes wealth, above his own private profit, yet where is the prince that wil hear him? So that of this sort there be very few; which is the sorest lack that princes can have. And if there be ony, they are so excluded from the princes hearing, that their good mind can take but little effect. Howbeit in your case, as tho God had provided that your gr. for lack of one to manifest your state with God & man, should not utterly fail, he first provided to put your faithful subject in such place that he might be at liberty to speak: & afterwards putting it in your mind to ask his sentence, gave him occasion with al liberty to say, & occasion with that to be heard better by writing, than by present communication. And this occasion I have not, I trust, let pass. But seeing the danger your gr. was in before God & man, for certain deeds that God suffered you to fal into, for this end & purpose, as yet I trust to recover you, is higher honor again.

This only ground of al your wealth I have so manifested unto you, that there never was physician nor surgeon so sought a wound to purge it from rankling, as I have sought, explained, & pondered your last deeds. Wherby I reckoned your soul sore wounded: insomuch that if I did not with al vehe-

mence of words both set forth your deeds, as they were, set forth your peril that doth ensue, both afore God & man, of those deeds, with al plainnes: so that if ony rancor remained in your deeds, that I had not touched, ony peril ony way, that I had not detect unto you, surely so much I thought my self culpable of pernicious negligence towards you. Which for to escape, this caused me to let nothing untouched & unsearched, which might be found in your deeds; which I sought to the very bottome of your wounds. No peril that might ensue of them, which I found great both at home, & without forth, except those wounds were healed, but I found it out. And in conclusion drew al the process of my book, to shew how al things past might be amended, how al those wounds might be healed, al perils extued (eschewed) & you to live in more honor & wealth, than ever you did hitherto. This is the end of my book, & here I leave.

But in this course to bring my matier to this conclusion, because your gr. heareth many sharp & sower words, which may be thought signes rather of enemy than friend, touching your fame so neer, if you wil, as soon as you hear them in reading, say, this is my great enemy, afore you know to what end they draw, your gr. doth like as though one lying wounded in his chamber, & having great need of the surgeon, after that one is brought to him, which prepareth his instruments, & draweth his knife, to cut the dead & superfluous flesh, according to his craft; the patient, as soon as he seeth his knife drawn, would cry against him as against his enemy; & wil not abide to let him use his craft, wherby he hurteth himself most of al: being most enemy unto his own health, which by these means he doth lett. In like maner your gr. seing my sharp words, & not abiding to hear the end, how they be applied to your wealth, why they were so sharpned, shal of a light sign mistake him (that meaneth nothing but your wealth) for your enemy; & be hindrance to your comfort, to the

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which al my sharp words do draw, & for that purpose were uttered, & in your wealth do finish.

But the final conclusion of al these discourses is this, to make you se the troth in al these matiers. This is a true ground & sure. It lyeth in no mans power, wit, learning or eloquence: this lyeth only in the goodness of God; to send you of the light of his spirit, that if so be his goodnes & mercy be such, that he wil give you his spirit in that degree of knowledg which David prayed for to be restored unto him, after his great blindnes he was stricken withal by his sin, when he prayed, “Redde mihi lætitiā salutaris tui, & spiritu principali confirma me;” then this is plain, you shal not only take no displeasure with my rough writing, in manifesting to you your offence to God, but think it was the greatest benefit that ever ony prince, after such deeds, could obtain of God; & be more sharper & rougher judge against your self & your deeds, than ony man beside, & say plainly, I have not said the third part that might be said in reproof of them. But this judgment & severity of your self, touching your self & your deeds, shal end in such gladnes & joy, feeling the knowledg of the mercy of God entring into your heart, that no joy surely in the world beside could be compared therunto.

This, if God inlighten you, shalbe the very end of al; wherein no mans labor is worthy to be thanked, but only the goodnes of God. And that it shal come to this conclusion, whatsoever I hear or know to the contrary, surely I cannot despair, seeing God hath rid you of that domestical evil* at home, which was thought to be cause of al your errors; & with her head, I trust, cut away al occasion of such offences as did separate you from the light of God. And the better I am (in hope) that God wil shew his great goodnes towards you, because I understand already, that in place of her, of whom descended al disorders, the goodnes of God hath given you one ful of al goodnes, † to whom I understand your gr.

*He means
Q. Anne
Bolen,
lately executed.

† Jane Seymour.

is now married. Wherof I beseech Almighty God send you great & long comfort, as I doubt not but shal follow. And surely there is none other lett now, only your gr. would put off that great burden of your *head*, which presseth you so sore, that you have borne awhile to be superior head of the church in your realm; which no other prince beside in their realmes, feeling the displesure of God, dare venture to take upon them, nor ever did, syneth the church began.

This I wil not deny hath a great appearance of a p. 205. great profit & revenue coming into your coffers. And I can say nothing at this present but infinitely wish that there were no lett, but I might confer with your gr. presently of this matier. For this I would not doubt to make plain, that your gr. should see it, as it were afore your eyes, that no profit gotten this way were worthy to be in any part compared with the profit, the honor, with al surety, that may be got by leaving off this title; as the time & occasion doth make for your gr. now: which if your gr. doth let pass, it is most to be feared it wil never come to such a good point again.

Peradventure your gr. wil think I speak like a yong man. I cannot deny but that I am that yong man, that have of long time be conversant with old men; that have long judged the eldest that liveth; at these dayes too yong for me to learn wisdom of, that have learned of al antiquity, of the most antient, that ever were afore me, & of my time hath had most acquaintance, & most longest conversation with those that have been the flowers of wisdom in our time: which I have sought in al places; & most enjoyed that wisdom of any yong man of my time: so that if I were a stock, I must needs know somewhat. And of al my knowledg, for one the surest I have now, that God hath sent you such an occasion, whatsoever hath been amiss hitherto, your matiers may be so handled, that your recover may be more surety, more

honor, more profit to your gr. than if you had gotten Asia out of the Turks hands, or don any other act beside, which is counted most honorable among christian princes: for your person alone may be the occasion of the reformation of Christs church both in doctrin & maners; which is one the highest honor that could be wished for in this world.

Wherefore, this is the time, Sir, to cal to God that he wil not suffer you to let pas this so noble an occasion: which if it be let slip now, there is nothing more to be feared than the sore hand of God, & his great punishment: which for to extue, & for to enjoy this honor, now is the time for your gr. to put al your endeavours, & to hear every mans counsil, that can say any thing in this matier: wherby, your antient years now growing upon you, you may finish your time in al honor & joy, not only of your own realm, but of al christendom, according to the hope, that every man had of your noble qualities & gifts of nature, that they saw with great comfort in you at the beginning of your reign. To whose expectation your gr. hath now most opportunity to satisfy, making the end respondent to the beginning; changing in a maner nothing of that life you lead now, if that please you, except it be to encrease to more honor & joy. Only that your gr. wil not lease this mervellous occasion, which you have given unto you now by the goodnes of God: which cannot be expressed in few words as it is in deeds. But if God give you the grace to give ear hereunto, then he wil also find the means, that it may be performed to his honor. Wherin is encluded al your honor, profit & surety, to the comfort of al your subjects, & the whole church beside.

p. 206. For the which is my daily prayer, & of al desires in this world in my heart the greatest, as knoweth God, the only seer of al interior motions. To whom my daily prayer is to make you know my heart, as he seeth it. And to his protection with al humble

petition I commit your grace. Written at Venice,
the XV of July,

By your graces most faithful servant,

REYNOLD POLE.

NUMBER LXXXIII.

*Pole, to the Bishop of Durham; in answer to that
bishops former letter to him.*

RIGHT honorable, & my singular good lord: in my Cott. Libr.
humblest maner I commend me to your good lord-
ship; advertising the same, that I have received your
letter, bearing date the XIIIth of this present at
London, the XXVIIth of the same. Wherby I
perceive, as my letter is come to your hand, which I
directed to your lordship, touching the declaration of
my mind & purpose, that I had in writing & send-
ing a book alate to the k. h., as also that the book
should be showed unto you, by the large expressing
of your mind & judgment in the one & the other.
And this was my chief desire, for the assured opinion
that I had of your vertue & learning, that it might
so be: which our judgment you do so express,
specially touching the book, that in few words you
conclude, "To have had great heavines at your heart
in reading thereof, & much more when you had read
it through." The cause wherof you do alledg to be
"the vehemence & sore eagernes therof in al parts,
& in no part attaining to the truth."

Surely, my lord, if it be so, the more ye show to
favor me, the more cause ye had to be sory, es-
pecially to se me so vehement & eager, & where I
have no true ground to write therof. But here lyeth
al, whether the proof you bring of your saying be of a
sure ground, or no, to show this. Surely the first of
al you bring is very feeble, which is bycause you say,
"All the purpose of my book is, to bring the kings
gr. by penance home to the church, as a man clearly

separate from the same already. And of his recess from the church you write, I bring none other proof, than by the fame & common opinion of men in these parts: which (you say) be far from the knowledg of the affaires of the matters in England, blindly judging of things unknown to them. This is the first entring you make in answering my letters, & refelling the purpose of my book. Which I perswading my self that you do not write, but of such a mind, as the rest of your letter showeth, desiring to have me perswaded, as one that you love & favor in that that seemeth truth unto you, & to have a more clearer judgment of mine own writing; I trust you wil pardon me, if for more manifestation of this truth, in such words, as I know not my self worthy of blame, but I have a just cause to defend my self in, I do utter the same; promising you afore God, wheras I have no right cause in such matters, as you lay great errors unto me, I wil never go about to defend it, but utterly & plainly grant I have don amiss, & desire also pardon of them I have offended.

p. 207.

But I afore I answer, & examine better your proofes, this first of al, my lord, I must desire pardon of you, if I deny the first thing you write, & say, that in my mind I think you have not thorowly read my book, albeit you write *you have perused it through*. Thus I durst not say, except you your self did minister a just cause for me to say so. The which is this, bycause in alledging some things of my book, you alledge those that cannot be found there, as I shal show anon. Besides this, wheras you make reasons contrary to mine opinion, you bring such as I have answered already in my book: which I know wel you wold never a done, if you had read the answer, but rather reply against my answer, showing that to be of no value, than to rehearse the first answer, wherunto there is already an answer made. This must needs induce me to think, that you have not read the book; except peradventure it might be, bycause you write you saw the book with others, that you might so

read it in company, as I have seen twain say service in company together, wheras they have said divers psalmes, that none of them both remember, whether have said or no, & one ask the other, whether they had don such a psalm or no. Under this maner you might read my book. This may salve your first saying, that you had read it after a maner: but after such a maner to make judgment therof, there is no man can say you read it.

But that I speak not this without proof, & a sure ground, this first I shal show, that you lay first to my charge: wheras you write, that in my proof to declare the kings recess from the church, I "take none other reason, but the fame & common opinion of men in these parts. This, my lord, you shal not find in al my book. Neither that I take such an argument by the voice of men here, to show the king hath separate himself from the church, nor yet any other. And the cause why, is, for seeing the kings acts, the which al christendom seeth as wel as I, it were a great madnes of a writer to prove that to be other in word or deed, which he seeth with his eyes, or heareth with his ears. As if a chirurgeon or physician, coming to one lying wounded afore him, should go about to prove the man is wounded. This no man that hath sense would do. But he that is expert in such things, after he hath searched the wound, would say the wound is perillous, is great, hath need of great care. And so I, my lord, finding the king already separate from the church, in refusing to be obedient to him, whom al his ancestors unto this time, & he himself the best part of his reign, & al other princes christned, doth obey as unto the vicar of Christ in earth; I showed by divers similitudes & reasons joyned withal, the greatnes of this wound, & peril therof. But that the king, by this means hath separate himself from the church, of this I put no proof: for this was open to al them, that either saw or heard the acts, or yet doth know them.

p. 208. So that to return to that I said afore; you reciting of my book, which was not there, this bringeth me not only suspicion, but rather a sure knowledg, that you have not read the same; being surely persuaded that if you had, you would not say otherwise than you found, which must needs come of malice; the which I can never suspect in you neither towards me, nor no man beside. But this letteth you not, to go forward in reproving the handling of my self in the book, as tho you had read it earnestly & with diligence; returning to that again which you first accuse, which is my *vehemency*, “Wherby (you say) I make many plagues, but lay little or no salve to heal them.” To this, my lord, I do say again, that which every man reading my book shal see; that in very deed I make never a plage, when I discover those that be made already: as if one had many wounds that were kept close, the chirurgeon coming did open them, & with an instrument search them to the bottome. Under this maner I did make wounds & plages. But howsoever you cal that, you say, “that I lay little or no salve therunto.” This you would never a said, if that you had read my book through, which spend one great part of my book in magnifying the sacrament of penance. What other salve would you have, my lord, than this, which is the only comfort of mankind, to heal al sores of the mind? And in this I spend twenty leaves of paper, not putting one sharp word; but with al force of wit, & such learning as God hath sent me, did bend my self to make open by reason, by example & by experience, what joy, what comfort, what honor, what wealth, was hid under this sharp name, that seemeth to contain none of this. But, my lord, if God would give him grace to tast but one tear of pure penance in that maner I have described, he would say, al the plesure & comfort that ever he had from childhood, & al the whole world could give, were not to be compared to the sweetnes therof.

But stil you say, “I shew in my writing to be

stirred & incensed in my spirit." Truth it is, my lord, it is no time for me to sleep, when I saw the head of our realm, to whom I owed as much reverence as ever did subject to his prince, whom nature bound me to love, & his benefits in that way, which I esteem above al other benefits, that ever he did for any (wherby he shal have more merit of God, than ever for any that I know he hath done) in causing me to be brought up in vertue & learning: which is nevertheless afore God, how little soever I have profited: al this together considered in him, whom I see in the greatest peril both afore God & man; attempting such things, & bringing to effect, as never did prince, sineth the christian faith was received of princes of the world, to the perturbation of the order & state of the whole church; what should I do, my lord, if I bare but one sparkle of love towards him, seeing him falling into this deep danger? Wherby, beside God, he did al that lay in him, to make twain, the greatest powers in earth, his enemies, as the pope & the emperor.

What should I do, those that should give him best counsil, & did, taken away by sword, for their right opinions, contrarying his plesure? Was it not time to cry out to him, in remembrance of that he had don; to set afore his eyes the wounds he made in his own soul; to show him his peril, & withal to show him the way to recover himself with honor? Here is al my *sharpnes*, that cannot be born, that I have shewed in my book. What would your lordship in this case? I cannot believe your mind is, other p. 209. than because he is a prince he cannot do amiss, or he doth so amiss, that al the world cryeth out of it, that no man should tel it him. If Solomons wisdom could not save him from greatest error; nor Davids favor of God did not make good, but God, to know himself better, did permit him to fal grievously; & so grievously with such blindnes, that he, being a prophet, knew not his own fault, until he was ad-

monished of another prophet. Let not this seem strange to our prince, that he may grievously erre, & yet so erring, not know the haniouſnes therof, when he hath done. And if after his grievous offence, because he is a prince, you would have no man so bold to tel him his fault, you make princes in the most miserable state of any men living; al other men having a mean after their fal, by the admonishing of such as love them, to recover. And from al princes take away such remedy as those, if chance were so, they should fal into a river, where, without help, they must needs drowne, you forbid any man from laying hand on his majesty to touch him.

But you would have men *touch him softly & gently*. But if that cause him tary longer in peril, & put him in more jeopardy, what would you then his lovers should do? How many years be past, when every man hath used that way with the king in these innovations of laws & customes, & what have they profited, but set him more forward? That if so be at the beginning, those men to whose office that did appertain, whose sentence the king did demand, had roundly, without any color of words, set the danger of such things, his gr. did attempt, before his eyes; declaring the inconveniences following therof, & brutenes of the things; surely it is to be thought, that goodnes that ever he shewed of nature, could never have gone further in those purposes. But before, every man took contrary way, fearing private displeasure of their own part more than the kings wealth: the matters be brought to this point now, that not only the king thinketh not that he hath don any offence to God, but rather that he hath don so, that no prince can do better; the which is the most perillous state of a sinner. And this he thinketh, albeit his deeds be such as never prince in the world attempted afore, nor none that is alive, for the brutenes therof, wil follow his example. Here now what should an intyre favourer of his honor & wealth do?

Any thing, than by al means bring them to his knowledg, that he may se them as they be? How can they be seen, except they be plainly told?

But that same *plainnes is too sharp*. Surely if there be nothing but words, it is a sharpnes, may soon be washed away; & more to the writers shame than otherwise. But if the deeds, joined withal, express & bring in al this acerbity in them, is al the fault, (which is not mine,) my doing there is rather cause of thanks, which show how al may be amended & turned to good: which is the conclusion of my book, & al mine intent in writing therof.

You wish I “had rather comprized in a short letter my whole opinion, that the king alone might have seen it, rather than in a long book: wherby the king is forced to commit the reading therof to trusty persons of his counсел.” If they be *trusty*, my lord, what inconvenience followeth of committing the reading to them, I cannot se. But to comprize mine opinion in a short letter, his acts by that means he could not se; which was my chief purpose he should see; having that trust in the noblenes of his nature, that seeing them as they were, after the ensample of David & others, he would abhor more them, than those that writ against them.

p. 210.

After this, you “condemn me of great temerity, to send such a book so long a way; which if it had perished, it should a been great slander to the king; but most of al great infamy unto me for the writing therof.” If there be no other fear but of my slander, let me be punished that way, & cause them that be displeased with me to put forth the same my slander. I promise you I wil never accuse them for my part. But you say it should a been a great slander to the king & to the country. Wherfore, my good lord? For manifesting of such deeds as I have written in that book to other nations. And what nation think you is there that is ignorant of any deeds written in my book; & not only not ignorant, but that hath them not so prompt, rehersing them with more

slander, than either I, or any man else with writing can express? I would to God they were no better known than my book might shew, I promise you there should not pass a quarter of an houre, but I would brenne my book. But as I saw, afore I set pen to book, they were better known & rehersed with more dishonour, than a pen can express. They be written, my Lord, *stylo adamantino*, as the prophet saith *de peccatis judæorum*, in hearts of al christendom: which never shal be abolished, but only by that salve, you say, was little shewed in my book, which is, by penance: that is the thing that ever I exhort the king unto.

You write, "Your heart was cold when you understood of two quayers of my book, that were out of my hands." You may be now of good courage again; for I promise you they be recovered. And those surely were one great cause, beside others, that moved me more, which was the death of her that was head of this disorder, why I sent my book at this time: for I doubted they had been conveyed of some that would have uttered them unto either the kings displeasure, or my hindrance. Wherin I sincerely (because the king should not travail his mind, if those quayres came to his hands, as written of me, to the supplanting of his honor,) sent him the whole book: which I think was the wil of God I should do. For the quayres afterwards were found among other quayres in another book.

And wheras your instant desire is, for the sharpnes of my book, that *I should brenn the originals*; if it be so, my lord, the kings mind be so debile, not able to digest the acerbity therof; (which if he might, al were turned to sweetness, & to more honor, than al the books that ever were written in his praise directly; but if he have not the heat of spirit within him, which must come only of the high gift of God) I wil be content examining the book, to separate the matter from the person. For the verity therof must stand, which I intend not to abolish; nor

to do that injury to catholick books, that is just for heretical.

You write further, declaring your mind, “ What dishonor would be to me to exercise my style against him (meaning the king) whom I ought in al points, by al my learning & wit, to defend. In this, my lord, you write very wel what I should do, & no other than that I have ever followed. And if you judge otherwise of this book I have now written, you be a very evil interpreter of my mind in that book, if you take the same as written against the king: which if it had been my mind, I would not a sent it after such circumstance, as I did, to his gr. nor a tempered it under such maner, as to shew how to avoid with his honor, al dishonor of such acts as were first known in the face of the world, afore they were expressed in my book. But this is plain, the king may make it against him, as al truth is against them that do not accept it. As the gospel of God is *scandalum* to them that hear it, & doth not admit the truth therof. But if his gr. obtain that grace of God to return to the light of the truth, there was never book that should be more unto his honor written. p. 211.

After this, you come in more to the particularities of my book, to shew, “ How my whole book (as you write) runs wide from the truth.” The which you begin on this maner, “ Because (you say) I presuppose this ground, the king to be swarved from the unity of the church.” Now you say very truth, I take it in my book for a ground, & that is the cause, as I wrot above, that I put no proof therof, as you rehearse I did. But now, my lord, that this ground is not true, can you prove? I wish you could, or that we both could prove the same, there was never thing, I wil put my hand unto gladlier. But I promise you, considering the kings innovations in the church, taking upon him the name & office of him in his realm, the which in the whole church doth keep as head the unity of the same, I am

ashamed to say he doth not separate himself from the unity of the church.

And now what proof bring you to this? You say, first, "That albeit the king be supreme head in the church, yet he doth not take upon him the office of a priest, as to minister the sacraments, & to preach & teach." What proof is this to show, that he doth not separate himself from the unity of the church, I cannot tel. Because he doth not utterly break al the whole order of the church, do you mean therby he breaketh not the unity? You seem to cal unity to agree in rites. Which indeed helpeth to unite, meaning by unity, concord & peace. But this unity helpeth not, except he agree in the head of the church, that the rest of the church doth follow; wherby *ecclesia* is *una*. And this you granting the king doth not admit, how can you defend (*i. e.* deny) that he is divided from the unity. But because you write, the king doth not take upon him to minister the sacraments, nor to preach, which be the offices of priests, tho he be *Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ in Anglia*: how this agreeth together I cannot se; but after such maner as al those that be founded on a false ground. Which neither agreeth with other truth, nor yet with it self. Good my lord, how is this convenient, that this name, *Supreme Head of the Church in England*, hath not annexed unto the same the supreme office that is exercised in the same church? How is it, that an inferior member shal exercise an higher act in the church, than is granted to the highest? Is there any higher act in the church, than the administration of the sacraments? And this you wil the priests, of whom you make the king head, to exercise; & the head himself, you wil not shall meddle with the same. After this you go about to prove the king hath not separate himself from the church, "Bycause (of) the good purpose his gr. hath to reduce his Church of England to the primitive state." As touching his graces mind, it is not my purpose to judg but the best; nor otherwise I wil

not. But this I wil pray, that God send him light of the truth, & strength of mind withal, to execute the same, which in great part the acts that be don in the realm (that be so strange, that no realm in christendome nor approveth, nor followeth the same) giveth many men cause to think otherwise.

But I mervail much how you can deny the king separateth himself from the unity of the church, in as much as you cannot name him, as you would have him named, the Supreme Head of his Church in England; but withal you show, he taking the same upon him, that the unity is broken. And where is this ever found in the primitive church, that kings were heads of the church? This, my lord, you, that say the king would reduce al things to the good order of the primitive church, shal never find that it was at any time in the church. And bringing in so strange a thing in so great a matter, I mervail that you wil ever speak of reducing things to the primitive churches order; except you cal in this to be reduced to the primitive churches order; bycause at that time the best men were sorest persecuted, churches plucked down, their goods taken from them. Here might be a similitude of the times of the primitive church. For thus princes, that were alienate from the name of Christ, did order the christen part: but christen princes never.

After this, “you make mention of viij universal counsels, which you wish greatly that I had read, afore I had written defence of the popys authority; wherein I should a seen many things contrary to that I intend to prove.” How so, good my lord? I would to God you had expressed wherein: for this you do not specify: but that there be many things which the pope doth not observe. And so, my lord, be there in the gospel things of more weight, than those of the counsels, which the pope himself will grant he doth not observe. But is this against any thing that I have written? Do you think my book goeth to defend (deny) the religious observance of the laws of

the church in the popys, according as they be bound by the laws of God, & their high authority & office? I never took that matter in hand, my lord, nor never wil. Nor is it this popys or that popys authority in particular, that I defend. But in general that there is such an authority in the church founded by Christ: which as he was *caput super omnem ecclesiam*, being in earth; so leaving to be conversant by his humanity in earth, left his vicar in earth: willing that no man in earth there should never lack of men, that should bear his room, as be pastors to his church, as he was; & willing this order should ever continue in the church as it hath done. Which S. Augustin, considering at his time in the succession of the Bishops of Rome, beginning of Peter, & numbering by succession the bishops unto his time; said, "He could not mervail too much at the high providence of God in so great persecution, how yet he maintained that church: which, (he granted) was one great thing confirmed him in his faith." Against this, my lord,

p. 213. you that have read the general councils better than I, you should a brought somewhat, if you think they be against that I have written. But whether I have read them or no, this I can tel you, neither you, nor no man else, not only out of such holy councils, can bring no such thing against mine opinion: nor yet, I wil say, out of no one mans writing, that ever was counted a holy man, senyth the beginning of the church, no such thing can be found.

Further you write, "That if those places of the gospel that I alledg do prove," you say, "that the Council of Nice must needs erre, which ordained the contrary." This is a streight argument, my lord, if it were as you say: but bycause you show not wherin the Council of Nice ordained the contrary, I can say no more, but deny the same, until the time that you show the place of this contrariety, which I know you shal never. And I remember to read in the Council of Nece, written in Greeke in S. Anthonies library at Venice, where Sylvester, the

Pope of Rome, lett by impediment of sicknes, as I remember, could not be there present ; who sent in his place the Bishop of Corduba in Spain, with two others of the senior priests of Rome, which be there also named ; & that bishop bare chief authority in that council.

Your reason forward, “ Bycause,” you say, “ I stick so much to the custome of the church in confirmation of my opinion,” you wil, “ that custome should be contrary to that is used now by the Bishop of Rome.” In many things, my lord, there is no doubt ; but that it should be contrary, that there should be one head in the church, this was your part to show ; & in some maner you might have shown it, bycause of the persecutions in the church. This lett many times & many years also, that this head could not so appear, to exercise his power in al points, according to that authority God had given. This likewise might be showed. But for al this, it remained ever in the consent of the church, that there should be one head-pastor of the whole. But, my lord, here is the cause, why I may say surely, I know that you have not with any advertisement read my book ; for this & other arguments, which I have answered to there. The which if you had read, you would not reherse without some new replying. I may say withal, that you do not take my mind, what I mean by the custome & consent of the church ; which is a higher thing, than your lawyers, wherin I perceiue your studies hath been more exercised, doth intreat of, which I have by a long process intreated in my book ; & now to repeat the same it were too long a process. I would think to satisfy you, if you read my process there, to take the same as the diuines do take it, that be most practised in these matters spiritual. Your lawyers may entreat wel, but not after such a maner, which is a great ground to know the strength of the *dogmata* in diuinity. Wherwith if you had been as wel exercised, as I know your diligence in your profession, you would

never have made these arguments of the general councils under such a maner as you do, nor yet that that followeth: wherin you declare your mind on this maner, saying,

p. 214. “Whosoever shal go about by the primacy of Peter, which was in preaching the word of God, to establish the worldly authority of the Bishop of Rome, which he claimeth in divers realmes in worldly things for profit temporal; he shal no more couple them together, than light & darknes.” Good my lord, against whom speak you this? In al my whole book there is no such discourse. I never descend there to speak of the popes authority for temporal profit: for it was nothing my matter. These be the matters wherupon the law-books much do run: & that causeth you at this time, I think, to encline to think, that wheras authority is defended; it must needs touch temporal profit, or else it is of no value. And this is one thing that I have noted in al those books that have been written of these matters against authority of the pope, that they put no difference between the civil order, that is in realmes & cities, & that is in the church; but take these two bodies as one, which be further asunder than heaven & earth; & in their ends & purposes like distance. Wherefore the imagination of this to be one of those that cannot wel perceive this difference, must needs be cause of great errors, in entreating such matters, as I have at large intreated in my book, being a matter most necessary to be known.

Another ground is, wherin they do greatly erre, bycause they read in the gospel, the preaching therof to be committed equally to al the apostles; therefore they say Peter had no power superior to others. Howbeit you, meseems, write contrary to those men, & yet the matter is not mended therby. For your words be speaking of the primatie of Peter: “which was,” you say, “in the preaching of the word of God,” contrary to others. But their reason faileth in the concluding, yours in the principle. For this

is not so, that Peter had his primatie for the office of preaching; for in that the other apostles were equal with him, Christs words being indifferent to them al, “*Ite & prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ.*” But the conclusion followeth not, that thereby he had no superior authority: for he was made *pastor ovium Christi*, & set in that room, *Ad confirmandum fratres in fide.* And to him alone was said, *Petre, pasce oves meas*: and it is another office to be pastor, & another to preach the word of God; which I would not doubt to make so plain, that it should be wel perceived, if it were not that I thought my letter somewhat too long already.

Wherefore now I will come to your conclusion. But first, wheras you write, I am “deceived in the mind of the people, thinking that they should not well bear the abolishing of the popes power; which rejoyce much,” you say, “at the taking away therof, as of a great burden.” To this I wil say no more, but that those that have perverted the peoples minds, if it be so, hath more burden on themself afore God to answer for. *Qui scandalizat unum de pusillis istis*, you know the rest what followeth of Christs words. But they that scandalize a whole nation, what shal follow? If the first be true, the second is more plain. But if there were such a burden, as you write of, could there no means be found to relieve that, without taking away the popes authority spiritual, that the rest of the whole church so many ages of men hath agreed unto, & yet doth, you only except? But let the spirituality say plainly, as they feel it earnestly, whether al the popes together, that ever exercised their authority in the realm, hath pressed them so sore as they have been this little time, syneth the authority of the pope was suppressed.

At last you come to answer to the fault, that I layd unto you, that you fainted, to follow those captains to heavenward, for the testification of Christs doctrin: to whose vertue, learning, & wisdom you were ever conformable, until the time came of mak-

ing up their life with so noble a conclusion. To this you make answer under such maner surely, that if you had cause afore to say, I gave you occasion to be heavy in your heart in reading my book, a thousand part more just cause you give me, for the reverence & love I have ever born unto you, to mourn & lament that mind, which you show by your answer. For, good my lord, what answer is this, where you say, "You never thought to shed one drop of blood in that cause, for you were sure that those that have had most avauntage by that authority, would not have lost one peny to salve your life; nor wil not," you say, "for me, if I were in like necessity." Wherefore you exhort me to keep me from trust of such succor. Good my lord, tel me, my Lord of Rochester, or Master More, did they hope of such succor? Did they think the pope would send an host to deliver them from death? What words be these in so great a matter, for the gravity of such a man as you ever have been esteemed? Make you the matter as light as you wil, there was never a greater matter entreated, of more importance to the wealth of the realm, & the whole church, than this. And this same that you go about to take away, the authority of one head in the church, was a more principal & groundle cause of the loss of the orient, to be in infidels hands, & al true religion degenerate, than ever was the Turks sword, as most wisest men have judged. For if they had agreed al with the accidental church, they had never come to that misery: & like misery, if God have not mercy on us to return to the church, is most to be feared in our realm, & in al other where such discession is made. And if you will not suffer in this cause, except you be sure, those to whom it most appertaineth, wil again allow with you; look wel upon the matter, my lord, & you shal find, that he to whom this cause most belongeth unto, is the same, that not only hath suffered for you, but dyed for you, to redeem you body & soul. It is Christs cause, my lord, & for his sake

dyed these great men, your great friends ; whom you may not think of so little spirit, nor so vile mind, that they saw not wherfore they dyed, or that they dyed for any respect, advantage or thing, to be looked for in this world.

But you say, " There be now as great learned men in divinity in the realm, as be in other countries." But how much more greater than my Lord of Rochester, or Master Moore, or other holy learned men that dyed for this cause ? I can say no more, but God send you a more livelyer spirit, than you show now to his honor.

Now I come to the last conclusion of your letter : where by another fashion of reasoning, as " by the honor, reverence & love I bear to the kings highnes, my country & friends," you do exhort me, " to leave the opinion that I have so much advanced in my book." And first of al you alledg unto me the estimation of my whole country, what they would think of me, if they, delivered out of a great bondage, meaning by that the obedience to the pope, I should go about to reduce them to captivity again. Here, my lord, I cannot tel what I may more lament ; your words set under this maner, or the misery of the time in our country, giving place to your words. Which hath continued now some years in such maner, that, mescemeth, the time of the building the tower of Babylon is come again, when no men understand other. For so it is now. This captivity you speak of, & this liberty, I understand not what you mean. But if sentence compound of words, having deeds conformable to the words, making al seeming true, this I find indeed, & in this I will not take record of one man, or one city or town, but of one whole state of the realm, which is the spirituality, which should have most ease by this renouncing of the popes power, the same most extending over them. And now, my lord, you be one of them, you may answer for al. But here needeth no answer, your sweet liberty you have got, syneth

you were delivered from the obedience papal, speaketh for it self. Wherof the rest of the realm hath such part, that you be without envy of other countries, that no nation wisheth the same to have such liberty granted them. But thus I speak, we be brought to such case, worse than Babylon, that no man understandeth another in his own tongue. That that one calleth captivity, another calleth liberty; that one saith is against the king, another calleth with the king.

And this began at such time as the practise of the unlucky mariage was brought in: when the king would leave the noblest & best lady in the world, & would needs couple himself with the vilest, as the cause of her death shewed. Then came this confusion. For then being divers sentences, the one that the king had lived xx years together in an incestuous life, a life against nature & beastly, as they said; meaning the conjunction that he had with Q. Katharine so long time; therfore he must leave the same. In another part, defending the contrary, (which was also my sentence) that the king was a prince of honor, & married with greatest & weightiest counsil of two noble realms, both England & Spain. Wherunto agreed the consent of the pope, which took away al spots, if there were any of illegitimate coupling. And this might wel be maintained by good learning. Every man looking what the king would do, the conclusion was, he agreed to the former sentence, that defamed his life, al the flower of his yoiingth; & so agreed to it, that they that were on the other part for good wil, seeing their sentence, wherewith agreed al good learning, were first called *adversaries to the kings cause*, afterwards, I trow, *traitors*. And none of those mens writings might go abroad, that defended the honor of the kings mariage, & his whole life, but those that most defamed him, that were thought most strongly to prove his unnatural, incestuous, & beastly life, these were had in most count; these were printed & read of every man. This, my lord,

seemed monstrous unto me, & to al the world beside, & yet doth, & ever shal.

But to return to my purpose, here began the great confusion, that no man could understand other, but that that was aforetime called constancy in them that would not let themselves be turned from an assured knowledg of the truth, this was called obstinacy. Those men, of whose vertue, learning, wisdom, fidelity, & love to the king & the realm, where had such sure proofes, that never of any born under the rule of a king, could be had more: those were called first ignorant, & afterwards condemned as traitors. But to conclude, my lord, touching first my country, that you write would have so il opinion of me, if I follow that opinion I am entered into; this conclusion, if men cannot discern their friend from their foe, shal not lett me, my lord; but *per infamiam*, & *bonam famam*, as S. Paul saith, I wil do them good, where I may have occasion. As touching the king, this will I say, if he be left & desolate of al counsil, that maketh most to the wealth of his soul of al other, if every other man for fear, or some private respect, leave to meddle in such matters, surely I will never leave him, but, whersoever I have occasion, show my mind grounded on the truth. And here is the bond you speak of towards him, of my bringing vp in vertue & learning. Which I wil ever keep, whatsoever peril or jeopardy to me privately depend therof. And that you write, "My lady, my mother, & other my friends, should take discomfort hereby;" I know, my lord, they love the king too wel, if they se the purpose of my mind, to take any discomfort therof. But al the discomfort I take myself is this, that this mind towards the king, which I do knowledg to procede of the high benefit of God, taketh so little effect: knowing my cause so just, so profitable, so honorable, so sure for his grace.

You wish, that you "might be but one day with me, to confer these matters." There is nothing, my lord, I would more desire, if it might be; for I

know your faithful heart towards his gr. & se your opinion, tho it be not wel grounded, yet the root of your meaning is good. And that you swarve from the height of this truth, it cometh rather for long continuance in other studies, that baseth the mind too much, where the light of the truth cannot be known, than of any malice.

And wheras you write in the end of your letter, that I “returning to the new received opinion of my country now, whatsoever I have written, you doubt not, but the means to be found, that I should be as wel received in the kings mind, as ever I was.” Surely, my lord, knowing as I know, if I should now change, then it were better time to cast me out of his mind, if I were ever in afore. And as touching the kings favor, this be you assured, for any advantage that ever I did or wil look therof to my self, I will never desire it. I cannot but knowledg the benefit of God herin, that syneth I came to any sense of mans knowledg, I cannot remember I ever esteemed any thing, that the king, or any prince beside, was able to give me: and if I had come to his court to serve him, I had come to give, not to receive; & to give nothing of mine own, but al that God hath given me to serve him withal to his honor. Whose fortune, if it had been to have had my service, beside the comfort that he should have had, served of one of his own bringing up, of his own choise, (whom God had ever furthered to that end he could desire of me, whom nature also had joyned with him;) if I had not brought to pass to kindle his love in the hearts of al his subjects, with such honor & reverence, that no power on earth could abolish, to the admiration of al foreign nations, surely, I would never a thought to have done the third part of my duty. Wherin I doubted not to have obtained of God, al that might help to such an end. But the hope of this now, meseemeth, is past. I had trusted, that woman that had been cause of al these dishonors, had taken away al dishonor with

her; especially hearing what a good lady the king hath now taken. So that my hope was, redressing al that was past amiss, his gr. in his latter dayes might better tast of the fruit of true honor, to the better contentation of himself, & al his subjects. But if the ire of God, which hath been sore provoked, be against this, I can say no more, but cry to him to turn his just ire into mercy, tho we deserve none. And the more fervently it maketh me cry, the more I see approach the general council: which already denounced* when it shal take effect, the king remaining in his opinion, several from other christened princes, must needs make him great dishonor, great fastidie. And what shal follow, God knoweth. For his hand most of all surely I do fear. Wherefore this must needs give me great sorrow at my heart, the more I see also now so great opportunity, divers wayes, if God give him grace to return this time, how with recovery of his honor he may be also a great instrument of God to the reformation of the whole church.

p. 218

* June 2.
1536, to
begin May
23, 1537,
at Mantua.

The day afore† I received your letter, furr I insure you beyond my expectation, I received a brief from the pope, of which the copy I have sent to Mr. Secretary, wherein he declareth his good intent for better preparation of the future council already denounced, to have a congregation this winter at Rome, of the best learned men of every nation. Among whom, albeit most unworthy, he calleth me thither, binding me with as sure a bond, as I have sure opinion, he may do so for such a good purpose, by the authority granted of Christ, that I shal not refuse to come; wherunto, God willing, I will obey, tho with great sorrow, remembring the king & my country; whom it may please God of his infinite mercy to salve, & to joyn sentence & opinion with them, whose service is most acceptable afore God, to his honor, & the wealth of the church; who also may illuminate your spirit to follow the same. And thus to his protection I commit you. Written in a place in the

† July 26

country beside Padoa, where I lay this hot season,
the first day of August,

By your good lordships assured orator,

RAYNOLD POLE.

NUMBER LXXXIV.

*Cardinal Pole to the L. Crumwel, upon his attain-
dor, & retyrement out of France unto Cambray.*

Cleopatra,
E. 6.

p. 219.

My lord, if afore time it could not be surely & clearly perceived, what affection I have ever born to the kings honor & wealth, which in my whole life never gave the least occasion, why ony man should think, but with them that tendred the same most, I might chiefly be numbred, if my deeds were truly & indifferently examined; but howsoever it be, if ony deed afore perversely interpretate, might rise ony scruple to surmise the contrary, these letters that I write now, as the time & case requireth (bearing that tenor as in reading you shal know) be sufficient not only to abolish al former doubts, shewing those to be perversly surmised; but that make clear, that a more constant & stable mind in observance of a prince hath not been found, neither in subject, nor other person beside. And the cause hereof is, that there never happened like occasion, as this is that causeth me now to write, whereby my mind might be so wel known, which occasion is given of the kings part under this maner: that he procuring against me by such mean to my undoing, as was never heard of the like in christendom, against ony that bear that person, that I do at this time: if my mind after this remain stable, to procure al things that may be to his honor & wealth, as ever I have professed afore time, what can be more surer token of a deep & a profound grounded love & affection? Whether I do so I shal afterward show you. If I declare first to him, that knoweth it best, the kings

act against me, to the intent you may know, if I after that remain in myn old state of observance, it is not for ignorance that I know not what is machinate against me. And surely tho I knew afore, both by your letters & others, in what displeasure the king had me, without the least cause showed of my part, I take God & my conscience to judg: which thing (if I had born but a mean affection) might have been sufficient to alienate also my mind from thence, where I saw, whatsoever I did for the best, I be ever accepted in the worst part.

But this I wil not have now take for ony proof of my mind, but to procede of the kings displeasure towards me. The less I know the cause to be, the further I was from al imaginations to suspect, that his gr. should be so incensed against my person, that for to have me in his hand, he would be content to break & violate both Gods law & mans, to disturb al commerce between country & country, between man & man. And this I would never a thought, but finding the same to be so indeed, I could not but find withal, how his gr. was bent withal to my utter undoing. Against the which if I remain in my old purpose to procure his wealth & honor, he that wil seek other proofes after this, or wil not be content with this declaration of a mans mind, he declared withal that with no proof he wil be content, but wil have one his enemy, whether he wil or no.

And of this mind of the king towards me, I had first knowledg at mine arriving in France. Of the which, to show you the ful motion of my mind herein, I was more ashamed to hear, for the compassion I had to the kings honor, than moved by ony indignation, that I coming not only as ambassador, but as legate in the highest sort of ambassage, that is used among christen princes, a prince of honor should desire of another prince of like honor, betray thine ambassador, betray the legate, & give him into my ambassadors hands to be brought unto me. This was the dishonorable request, as I understand, of

p. 220. the king. Which, as I said afore, to me surely regarding mine own part, I promise you was no great displeasure; but rather, if I shal say truth, I took plesure therin, & said forthwith to my company, that I never felt my self to be in ful possession to be a cardinal, as when I heard those tidings, wherby it pleased God to send like fortune to me, as it did to those heads of the church, whose persons the cardinals do represent; which was to be persecuted most of them, whose wealth they laboured for most busily. In this case lived the apostles. And the same now being happened to me, afore God I promise I felt no displeasure, but rather was glad therof, specially considering hereby I had the better occasion to declare & justify my mind more than ever I had before. Which was ever in my mind.

But touching the thing, if we had no other religion, but lived as pagans & infidels, yet *jus gentium* should ever teach us what demand this was. The law of nature alone might declare, how abominable it were to grant to such a request, & no less to desire it. This I reherse now to this intent, that you might the sooner perceive, that if there had been but one spark of a mind alienate from the king, this were enough to set the same in such a fire, that first considering how al regard of honor was set apart, & the law that maintaineth the commercement betwixt men, purposed to be violate, so that it might turn to mine undoing, first of al on my part I should abstain from al commercement with that party, either by word, writing or deed: secundarily, procure by al honest wayes, if I would not by dishonest, to repair this malignity, to the uttermost damage I could devise, towards me, of whose malign mind towards me I had so great experience.

And yet after al this, first of al you may se forthwith, by writing at this time, I do not abstain from the first act to practise & entreat with them, that hath been authors* therof; & to practise yet to his honor & wealth, which would utterly extinguish both

* Secretary
Crumwel.

in me, & if I be heard herein, to put the same also in execution. Which thing tho I do surely of mine own purpose & mind, yet some occasion hereof, how it cometh otherwise I wil not deny, nor keep close. Which is this. That wheras the Bishop of Verona, that was sent of me to the French court, to intimate those affaires, that for the wealth of christendom the pope had committed unto me, to intreat with his majesty, in his return, passing by Abbeville; where were lodged my Lord of Wynchester, & Mr. Bryan, (wheras he could not but greatly mervayl of this act of the king towards me, my whole legation purposing no other, but his honor & wealth) & desiring therfore to confer the same with the ambassadors, for the better declaration of the truth of the matters to be known as they were, my Lord of Wynchester & Mr. Brian both abstaining, for respect, from al communication, yet sending unto him their secretary, after the bishop had in part declared the effect of my legacy, that touched in ony part the king, it seemed to be open to both parties, that al the king had don against me, was of the sinister & false reports of others, that by false conjecture of things they knew had evil informed the king of my purpose of coming into these parts. Which the secretary thought, onys cleared & declared either by letters or messengers, the king would turn his mind as his gr. saw the deeds to justify themselves. This the Bishop of Verona at his return shewed me; which I accepted in that part to be true also: that al came of evil information, & that his gr. being ascertained of my mind, as it is & ever hath been, it were not impossible in some part to knowledg rather my gratitude, than to machinate ony thing contrary. And that it might be so known, for al parts it cannot be but wel.

p. 221.

But, as I shewed the bishop, by letters I had attempted often the same, but al could not prevail. My messenger I had sent often for that purpose, could never be admitted to have audience of the king. And without one of these wayes were found, there

could no conclusion be had in these matters. Where in reasoning with him, I asked, if for the love & service that ever he hath born to the king, & shewed, indeed, when he was in that place, where his service might be in stead to the king, & love also he hath ever to me, having assured knowledg of all my affaires & purposes, not only these last, but al synyth my departing from the realm, whether he could be content, the kings plesure first known, to acquiet the kings mind in this behalf, by going to his gr. & enforming him of the whole, wherin aforesaid he should do a deed most charitable. Wherin also I did alledg unto him for to bind him withal, because after such demonstration of the kings mind made unto me, few men would be content to practise with his gr. in any thing belonging unto me; for this cause I did reherse to you mo things to induce him hereunto; & among others this chiefly, the purpose of his coming to me, which afore God was this, that the pope intending by al means of benignity to practise with the king, having the French king so joyned in amity with the king, & with his sanctity also, devising for a meet instrument between both; if any person, for this degree newly taken were not accepted, the Bishop of Verona was thought most meetest; being, for his old deserts to both princes, as long as he was in that place, where he might do them serviceable plesure, as it was to be thought grateful to them both, & contented for his goodnes the best busshop of Italy.

So that al things considered in matter of the church, to entreat with these princes, none was thought like: therefore the pope bound him to take this journey with me for this purpose. And this bond among others I rehersed unto him, when I moved him to go unto the king.

To the which he made answer, if there were none other bond, nor respect in this matter, but of Gods knowing my matters as he doth; & seeing what inconveniences might follow, if they were not at last wel accept, besides the service he hath ever owed to

the king, & love towards me; knowing what comfort it might be to al parts, if my true & faithful dealing were wel intimate to the king; he would be content at al time, the way onys found afore, how with commodity he might come to the kings presence, to take this charge upon him.

This, my lord, you may now perceive, that if I had ony part that mind, that the king, procuring against me, doth show to be persuaded I have, it could not be possible I could have ony confidence to attempt ony meddling with his gr. under such maner. But because nor my confidence, nor affectionate mind yet is not taken away, therfore this I do declare unto you by these letters, to the intent you may intimate the same to his grace. And now you se by a great proof what my mind is: you may also se, how al suspicion may not alonely be cleared, many things appeared, that peradventure might turn to greater trouble; but also many things be brought to light, to the kings most assured honor & wealth, than ony thing is, I think, thought of hitherto to make for the same. For al this I dare promise to follow, if the busshop be heard with that mind, as he is sent, & content for to go. p. 222.

Other declarations of my mind by letters I intend not to make, than my letters agreing with mine actions, sent afore, do make testimony; & that the busshop, which is privy to al, may declare presently. But this I wil say, if I bear in ony part that mind the kings act against me doth show his gr. is persuaded I should have, surely I would never have don as I have don, in al mine acts & processes (that is) by letters made the king, & you privy unto them (this I did at my first coming to Rome) & cause of my legacy now, & the cause of my coming to these parts. Such advices rebels be not want to give unto those, from whom they rebel. But especially at Rome (being there when the time was precious for the king in his realms) letting them the sending forth of the

censures, (which might have caused more trouble) & sending at that time my servant purposely to offer my service, to procure by all means his honor, wealth & quietnes: animating besides those that were chief of my neerest kin to be constant in his service. This rebels be not wont to do. And I know at Rome, if ony man had been premiate to do him service, none could have don more.

In so much that men judged me half a rebel to God & my country, because I would not assent to divers things, that had been little to the kings quietnes. But especially having in my hond those writings, that, put forth, peradventure might a cause most trouble of al: these instantly, being desired of those, which had in a maner authority to command, & yet ever finding means, that they never came into their sight nor honds; & to this hour suppressing the same. Bethink you wel. But as I say, my purpose is not to justify my mind by these letters at this time in mo acts than one, which is of this present time. Nor if it be not justified of such an one as the busshop is, that knoweth them assuredly, I do neither intend hereafter to labor ony more herein: afore God & al men, that wil be indifferent judges of the truth, I wil not doubt at al times to justify myself towards the king. I would to God I could so wel justify my self afore God, & the catholic church, for negligent service in this behalf, bycause I would not offend the king.

Now I wil say no more, but pray unto Almighty God to put that in the kings mind, that may be most to his honor & wealth, with grace to follow the same; & to take from al other such occasion, why they should think, if they serve the (church or pope) according to their conscience, they should be constrained to offend the king: and so hereby to separate the one from the other. Which surely to no man should be more grief, than to me. But Gods plesure be fulfilled above al, to whom I now

commit you. Written at Cambray, the 2d day of
May. Your loving frend,

R. CARD. LEGATUS.

To my Lord Privy Seal.

NUMBER LXXXV.

*Lee, Archbishop of York, to Crumwel, l. privy seal;
concerning friers, preachers in his diocess.*

RIGHT honorable, after my heartiest commendation: I have received the kings most honorable letters, & yours, by the kings messenger, named Adams, the xxij of this month: by which I perceive, that his highnes plesure & yours is, that I shal do my best endeavour, first to avoid, that no contrariety be here suffered in preaching against the *new novelties*: by which I suppose you mean, no opinions be pronounced or taught, without wise & discrete qualification. And thirdly, to repress the temerity of al those, that odre privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, would advaunce the pretended authority of the Bishop of Rome.

Cleopatra,
E. 5.

Wherin lieke it you to understand, that surely in my conscience I know no man here, that in any maner goeth about to avaunce the said authority; & what I have done to set forth the contrary, you partly know. And if I shal hereafter know of any such thing, I shal with al diligence put him to silence.

Contrariety in preaching I have not suffered; ne have heard of any, saving that one friar in York preached of purgatory, whom because he did it, the kings plesure not known, I forthwith discharged of preaching. Wherof a (I) wrote to you by my brodre, Treasurer of York: & one oodre contention betwixt the Vicar of Doncastre, & a light friar there: wherupon I charged the said vicar, that he in no wise should preach of any article mentioned in the ordre taken by the kings highnes. And because I

p. 224.

was credibly informed, that the said friar preached some of the said articles, & that after such sort, as the people were much offended, I commanded the vicar that he should not suffer him to preach. And forsomuch as the said vicar, & oodre, layd certain articles against the said friar, which he had preached, I sent for him first by a gentle letter, but he would not come, but answered me plainly, he would ask counsil; & so went to London. Afterward, at his return, I caused him to be cited, but he would not appear. And now I have given commission down to examine his articles; & if he hath preached much slanderously to the offence of the people, I shal discharge him of preaching. There is also another friar of the gray sort; of whom I am now informed, whom I shal also discharge: for he preacheth new things, & that very slanderously to the offence of the people: & whether he hath commission of me or not, I do not yet know. I admitted some at the request of Dr. Brown, pretending to me, that they were discrete & wel learned, & should do the king good service. Oodre preachers of novelties here be none, that I know of, ne hath been, saving two or three that pretended to have the kings authority. With one of whom I spake. Of whom afterwards I heard no great complaint: & he shortly after departed. The toodre hath preached since at Polls Cross, as we hear, & there declared his learning, which is liek his life: both nought, as the common clamour of this country is.

Al the kings matters the people hear reverently & obediently: but at such novelties, especially handled without charity or discretion, the people grudge much: wherof heretofore I have advertised you by my letters. I trust there shal be no default found in me, but that I shal se the kings commandment fulfilled to the uttermost of my power. And if hereafter (any) shal come with the kings licence or yours, I trust you wol be content, that I shal put them to silence, as wel as oodre, if they preach any such no-

velties. I sue still to you for my commission, in which I trust I shal do good service for the kings discharge & yours, if you give it me. Truly we have, & shal have, great need therof for many causes. And thus in my heartiest maner I commend you to the keeping of our Lord. From Cawod, the xxiiij January.

Your own ever assured

EDOWARDE EBOR.

NUMBER LXXXVI.

The University of Cambridg; their congratulatory letter to the king.

OCTAVIUS Augustus, princeps invictissime, cum Cleopatra, E.6. p.242. veteranus quidam illi pro tribunali sedenti libellum timidiùs porrigeret, Quid, inquit, trepidas, commilito, tanquam si stipem elephanto dares? Ægrè nimirum tulit modestissimus imperator, quod quam lenitatem & animi moderationem toto orbe notam illustrémq; esse voluit, eam ejus miles ita timidè reformidaret. At nos immensa clementia, meritorúmque magnitudo tuorum, & ardens illa, atque inflammatus in pietatem amor, quem in tua majestate cernimus, ita consolatur, & ad se invitat, ut quod alioqui ne optare quidem aut sperare fuisset ausi, id, tuæ majestatis in virtutem ac religionem animi impetu & ardore abusi, etiam petere audeamus. Acceptis enim duobus a tuâ majestate beneficiis, quibus nihil majus aut populus accipere, aut melius princeps dare, aut omnino uberius homo homini conferre præstareve potest: pace nimirum & pura purgatâque religione. Nova quidem & alia petere, cum quæ dedisti sint maxima, nec volumus, nec debemus. Quæ autem p. 225. ad hæc defendenda, & sarta tecta conservanda pertinent, si postulaverimus, & velle illud tuam m. & jubere speramus. Quanquam alteram ita tuâ serenitate tutatam fuisse cernimus, nihil ut quisquam amplius exoptare possit: alteram tanto studio inchoatam vidi-

mus, ut omnia jam sperare queamus. Nam cum initio faustissimi tui regni, subactis Scotis, Gallos ad conditiones pacis adegisti, illa tum fuerunt fundamenta pacis & quietis jacta, tot ut jam annos ad hunc usq; diem non nemo fortasse cupijt, nemo tamen ausus est eam convellere.

Ad religionem vero corrigendam, quæ longè a prima puritate recesserat, serò animum adegisti; non profecto serò, si quantæ res, quàm parvo spacio, in illa emendanda & corrigenda, transactæ confectæq; sunt reputemus. Sed nimirum certè serò, si quanto desiderio veræ religionis t. majestas, quanto amore jam agnitæ pietatis populus flagret, velimus considerare. Illa quoq; quæ ingenti labore magnôq; studio in vinea Domini repastinandâ refodiendâq; peregeris, non solum paranda, sed etiam fruenda fuerant. Utq; tanquam excellens artifex, non modo speciosum præclarûmq; opus ederes, & ad exitum perduceres, sed operis etiam tui pulchritudine diu multûmq; oblectatus anteactorum laborum fructus jucundâ factorum memoriâ retineres. Quanquam sublimitatis tuæ labores & defixas in evangelium propagandum cogitationes respiciens Deus; ut resipiscentem populum, & ad suas leges conversum, aliquo magno bono afficeret, tandem, tandem, inquam, aliquando pignus illud amoris erga nos sui, principem EDOARDUM infantem, tali parente dignum, ad nos demisit; ut esset, cui non solum florentissimi regni, sed etiam sinceræ tuæ fidei, germanæq; religionis, hæreditatem relinqueres. Hujus te causâ noctes ac dies studere intelligimus, omnémq; operam tuam ac sollicitudinem eo conferre, ut quod in religione purganda, feliciter fortunatissimèq; sit inchoatum, quodq; adhuc relinqui videtur, id, Christo bene secundante, perficias quam primum & absolvas.

Quid igitur inchoatum dicimus, quid relictum? Annon Romanus pontifex rejectus est? Ejicitur. Annon ejus diplomata, condonationes, indulgentiæ, cæteræq; bullæ & nugæ sunt explosæ? Exploduntur. Annon bona monachorum pars, quorum vita super-

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tendum est, ut ex agro dominico malæ tantum herbæ, vitiosæq; stirpes evellantur, sed adhibenda est opera, ut etiam bonæ magno numero foveantur, & conse-rantur.

Quid igitur anticipamus consilia tua, & quid faciendum sit, ipsi præbimus? Minime vero: neq; enim ignoramus ista tuam sublimitatem agitare, & tota mente revolvere; quomodo de pietate vera quam optimè merearis, & christianam religionem quàm latissimè exaugeas, neq; id parcâ & malignâ, sed liberali ac magnificâ, verèq; regiâ manu. Sed siquid tale tua m. cogitarit, aut animo destinaverit, nostri fuit officij submovere, suppliciterq; petere, ut huc ad nostram academiam flectas oculos. Quæ cum semper sinceriori religioni maximè faverit, talem principem, qui in succernenda, depurandâq; doctrinâ Christi tantum laborem collocaverit, non potuit non eximiè præter cæterorum subditorum conditionem amare. Movet nos fraterculorum nostrorum ruina: non quidem quod eos exertos dolemus, quos non solum mutiles, sed etiam perniciosos christianæ religioni fuisse duximus: sed ut exoptemus, & vehementer cupiamus, quæ domicilia superstitioni olim, & vanæ religioni dedicata fuerunt, ut eadem doctrinæ Christi, bonisq; literis edocendis aliquando inserviant. Atq; illud quidem supremis precibus a Deo o. m. tuaq; majestate petimus: id in summis votis, atq; optatis nostris habemus; quibus ex ædibus quum Cœnobîa dicebantur, ignavus fucorum grex, & magnus impostorum numerus, evolare solebat, ut eadem collegia facta, vel juvenum præclaras indoles ad discendum, vel seniorum eruditam turbam ab concionandum, videamus emittere.

Quibus nostris precibus, si tua m. annuat, cum omnia feceris, quæ non solum ad conservandam, sed etiam ornandam tuam remp. pertinent, tamen ad innumerabilia tua in religionem christianam beneficia, quod fieri jam posse non videbatur, maximus hoc tuo facto cumulus accedet. Jesus Christus, serenis-

simam m. tuam diu servet ac tueatur. Cantabrigiæ.
E senatu nostro, duodecimo die Octob.

M. T.

Deditissimi servi ac scholastici,
Vicecancellarius & Academia Cantabrigien.

NUMBER LXXXVII.

p. 227.

The University of Oxford; their congratulatory Letter
to the King.

*Serenissimo principi, Henrico ejus nominis Octavo,
Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, Dno. Hiberniæ, Fidei
Defensori, necnon Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ immediatè
post Christum in terris Capiti Supremo, Cancellarius
& Universus Oxoniensium cætus, salutem.*

QUUM alia sunt permulta, Henrice regum clarissime, quæ sacræ majestatis tuæ nomen orbi commendent, illud tamen communi omnium sententiâ cum primis illustrat, quod nihil jamdiu tibi sit antiquius, vel magis quicquam in votis habeas, quam Angliam tuam, non multis ante seculis barbaram prorsus ac incultam, a fœda barbarie, resuscitatis ubiq; meliorum literarum studijs, vindicare, ac ab umbratili ac falsâ quadam religione, quæ paulatim Romanorum pontificum imposturis irrepsit, ad pietatem ac verum Numinis cultum reducere. Nam quum non aliud constet esse munus, quod magis christianum principem deceat, quàm in hunc totis nervis scopum incumbere, huc labores omnes omniâq; consilia referre, ut subditi fiant non tam claris literis, quam pietate insignes, quis jure negarit te optimi regis officio abunde perfunctum esse; cujus potissimum operâ tantus ubiq; bonorum pariter ac literatorum proventus per omnes regni tui partes exoriat, ut Britannia, in qua, patrum nostrorum memoriâ, omium ferè bonarum artium studia frangebant, sic, te principe, sinceriores disciplinas colat, ut in ea non parum multi sint, qui cum veteribus

Cleopatra,
E.6.p.245.

ipsis literarum proceribus jure optimo queant de eruditionis palmâ concertare: sic pietatis studium amplectatur, ut nusquam omnino magis ad Christi regulam, ac puræ religionis præscriptum hodie vivatur.

Nec mirum sanè in regno tuo virtutis ac literarum segetem passim renasci, quam a te, penes quem rerum summa est, hæc imprimis coluntur: sic ut subditis tuis vel calcar esse possis, quo hisce rebus acrius insistant. Quódq; facile maximum est, quum harum rerum studiosis, ita ex animo faveas, ut non alios libentius ad summos provehas honores, quàm quos vitæ integritas, vel eximia literarum peritia, vel utrumq; horum, tibi commendant. Accedit etiam, quod academias, quæ sunt veluti fontes virtutis & literarum seminaria, sic regia auctoritate tueris, sic inaudita liberalitate foves, sic deniq; melioris literaturæ professoribus ornas, ut unus ipse multorum beneficia regum, qui easdem, primitus in publicam utilitatem instituere, tuâ penitus munificentia obscuraris.

Quare nè singula persequamur, vel unum illud argumento est sanè quàm luculento, te virtuti ac literis promovendis esse natum, quod tam benignè nuper decimarum pariter ac primitiarum solutionem tua ac senatus auctoritate, eisdem condonâras. Quod sanè tam benignum facinus, ita sacratissimæ m. tuæ nomen immortalitati commendatum consecrarit, ut nunquam, salvis literis, ullâ vel ætatis vel oblivionis injuriâ intercidere poterit.

Quod verostrarum est partium, sedulò quidem ac pro virili connitemur omnes, ut tanta demum beneficentia digni judicemur: hoc est, ut pro tuis maximè votis literis simus juxta ac morum probitate, insigniter conspicui. Atqui in tales poterimus viros minori cum negotio evadere, si tua nunc tandem celsitudo non gravabitur, simul & litigijs istis quæ nobis jamdiu cum vicinis nostris intercesserint, finem imponere, simul & privilegia nobis restituere, quæ ab illustrissimis olim majoribus tuis nostræ, in publicam

studiorum utilitatem, academiæ sunt concessa. Quæ ut propediem restituas, tuam sublimitatem tam vehementer obsecramus, quàm ijs ad communem studiorum tranquillitatem maximè indigemus. Quod si sacratissima m. tua nostris annuere precibus, vel querelis potius justissimis, pro suâ bonitate dignabitur, quod unum præstare possumus, Deum opt. max. pro tua solute perpetuis interpellare precibus non cessabimus. Inquo valeat tua celsitudo quam diutissimè. Oxoniæ, pridie idus Novembris.

NUMBER LXXXVIII.

The judgments of divers Bishops & Doctors in commission, concerning Confirmation, under these three questions :

First, Whether this sacrament be a sacrament of the New Testament instituted by Christ, or not?

Secondly, What is the outward sign, & invisible grace, that is conferred in the same?

Thirdly, What promises be made, that the said graces shall be received by this sacrament?

The judgment of Edward Lee, Archbishop of York.

THAT the sacrament of Confirmation was institute by Christ, we be induced to think, for so much as the apostles used the same, & that with diligence, as appeareth in the Acts, the 8th & the 19th chapters, & gave the same by tradition to the church. And that the apostles durst not have taken upon them, as of themselves, to institute any sacrament. And this is the opinion of S. Clement, in the 4th epistle: whose words be these :

“ Omnis ergo festinandum est sine mora renasci Deo, & demum consignari ab episcopo, *i. e.* Septiformem gratiam sp. sancti percipere; quia incertus est uniuscujusque exitus vitæ. Quum autem regeneratus fuerit per aquam, & post modum septiformi

Cleopatra,
E. 5.

p. 229. spiritus gratia ab episcopo, ut memoratum est, confirmatus, (quia aliter perfectus esse christianus nequaquam poterit, nec sedem habere inter perfectos, si non necessitate, sed incuriâ aut voluntate remanserit, ut a B. Petro accepimus; & cæteri sancti apostoli, præcipiente Domina, docuerunt,) deinde ex operibus bonis ostendat in se similitudinem ejus, qui eum genuit, patris.

By which words of S. Clement the first question is answered, that is, That this sacrament is institute, *præcipiente Domino*.

And by the same words appeareth answer to the second question, That the outward sign is *consignatio facti ab episcopo*; and that the graces conferred in the sacrament be the graces called, *The seven gifts of the Holy Ghost*.

And hereby may appear the answer to the third question, That forso much as the seven graces be given in this sacrament, that these graces be his promise, by whose commandment the sacrament is institute.

Again S. Dionyse, whose book, *De Ecclesia Hierarchia*, is wholly grounded upon the traditions apostolic, as himself avoweth, maketh mention of this sacrament, as had in use in the time of the apostles, after the rite of the church, that is used now with chrismation. Wherefore since the said apostles, as afore is said, durst not institute any sacrament, we must needs think, that the institution came from Christ, the declaration & tradition from the apostles.

And to the second question answer may be made by the words of S. Dionyse, which saith, that this sacrament is, “*Unctio perficiens & confirmans post regenerationem, & quod conjungit perfectum & consummatum spiritui sancto: & quod per hoc sacramentum datur sp. sanctus.*”

And so answer may be made to the third question, as afore, That since the H. Ghost is given by the conferring of this sacrament, that the proces of grace in this sacrament cometh from him, by whose authority it is institute.

S. Augustin also writing *contra Petilian. unum Donatistam*, saith, “ Quod sacramentum chrismatis in genere visibilium sacramentorum est sacrosanctum, sicut & baptismus.” Which cannot be true, unles the sacrament of confirmation be institute by Christ.

Also S. Dionyse, S. Clement, & S. Fabyan say, that the sacrament of confirmation is a sacrament performing (perfecting) the sacrament of baptism. And S. Dionys saith, that he that is baptized is but initiate, that is, entred, & that by chrysmation of the bishop he is made perfect. And so also S. Clement, S. Melchiades, & S. Urban say, that afore the receiving of this sacrament, “ Baptizatus non est plenè christianus.” By which thing it appeareth, that the sacrament of confirmation cannot be institute by mans authority. For no man can perform the work of God.

And need must hereof follow, that the said sacrament being institute of Christ, the effect therof must be grace: for he doth nothing institute, but for our ghostly wealth. And therefore he doth assist his sacrament, as S. Cyprian saith, “ Hic omnibus ecclesiæ sacramentis interest, quæ ipse efficit & consummat.” But forasmuch as S. Clement, S. Melchiades, & S. Urban say, that “ Baptizatus non est perfectè nec plenè christianus, priusquam confirmetur ab episcopo;” least any men should hereof conceive error, that if (without contempt of this sacrament) any man already baptized, & forthwith dying, should not be taken for a ful & perfect christen man, as to the effect of the sacrament, the holy Bishop of Rome & Martyr Melchiades words do wel avoid. Which be these, “ The H. Ghost which descended vpon the waters of baptism, gave ful innocency at the font: but in confirmation it giveth increase to grace. And for because while we live in this world we must pas among our invisible enemies in great danger, therefore in baptism we be regenerate to life: after baptism we be confirmed & strengthened to fight: in baptism we be cleansed; after baptism

we be strengthned. And altho to them that shal strait pas out of this world, the benefit of regeneration doth suffice; yet to them that shal live, the helping of confirmation is necessary. Regeneration by it self saveth; confirmation armeth & strengthneth to fight," &c. And after this maner the saying of the council of Orleans be understonde, that "he that is baptized shal never be a christen man, unles he be chrismed by the confirmation of the bishop." And so by the words of the same, S. Melchiades among other things doth appear, that one special benefit of the sacrament of confirmation is ghostly strength to fight. Which effect is also shewed by divers other writers.

The judgment of Tho. Goodrich, Bishop of Ely.

I. Whether this sacrament be, &c.

As touching this sacrament of *confirmation*, as it is now used, there is no expres mention made in the N. Testament of the institution therof by Christ. But the holy & antient fathers hath taken it for a sacrament of the N. Testament; grounding themselves upon the acts of the apostles.

II. What is the outward sign, &c.

The outward sign is imposition of hands, or the anoynting with chrism & the prayer. And yet it is not to be doubted, but the receivers of this sacrament receive such graces as be necessary for them, according to the promise of Christ made unto the church, & to the ministers of the same. Even as it pleaseth him, "Qui dividit singulis prout vult," as saith S. Paul.

III. What promises be made, &c.

Responsum est supra. Altho that confirmation, as it is now used in the church, hath no special promise of God expressed in scripture therto annexed, yet certain it is, that imposition of hands was a sacrament ministred of the apostles to them which were baptized; wherby they received the gifts of the H. Ghost invisible, & to the confirmation of their

faith, & strength of that which they had professed before in baptism.

Which imposition of hands derived from the apostles times, was not only given to men of years & discretion, first examined by the bishop, before the congregation, of the articles of their faith, & promptnes to profes the same against al persecutors therof: but also to infants & yonglings: following the example of Christ, which put his holy hands upon the infants, prayed for them, & blessed them. p. 231.

As touching the ministry of this sacrament, forso-much as in the Acts of the Apostles it appeareth that the apostles *imponebant manus*: & not Philip, which baptized the Samaritans: therefore I think, that the bishops, which be called the successors of the apostles, be the convenient ministers. For so the use hath obtained from the begining, saith Innocent; which was long before Gregories time; which seemeth rather to permit that unto priests for the avoiding of slander, than that it should be their office indeed to confirm.

The judgment of Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester.

Laus Christo.

For as myche as the elder fathers of the catholic chyrche hitherto hath takyn these sacramental rites & godly ceremonies, that ys to say, *confirmation*, *order*, *wedlock*, & *extreme unction*, to be sacraments of the new law, & to be ordenyd by Christ, unto special effects of grace, the which ys required in every sacrament; & now, through more diligent search of scripture than hertofore hath byn used, are brought in question; lest peradventure between these two opinions, the catholic chyrche mought fal from the upright & true knowledg of God, & his ordinance, hyt can be no less than our dutys, to whom ys committed the charge spiritual of the sayd chyrche, to search the truth herof, & to set out syche doctrine, that the simple & unlearnyd people may be

instructyd, what & wherin standeth the verity of the said rites & godly ceremonies: considering that hyt hath pleased the kings highnes to command us to the same.

Christ yn the xi chapter of Mark, wheras he had put out buyers & sellers out of the temple, & said, “*Nolite facere domum patris mei domum negotiationum*; then came unto him the high priests & the scribys saying, *In quâ potestate hoc facis?*” And he said, “*interrogabo & vos unum sermonem. Baptismus Johannis e cœlo erat, an ex hominibus?*” At the which question, as astonied, they thought yn themself, “Yf we say, that hyt came from hevyn, he shal or wol say, Why do not you beleve yn hyt? If we say, yt came by the techynge of men, then the people wyl be offendyd & slawnderyd, that taketh Joan as a true prophet. Now let us expownd thys text. First, the text techeth us, that afore we can enter to this question, *Baptismus Johannis*, &c. the word of God must drive out of the temple al buyers & sellers of dignities & benefices, promotions & advantages, that they may perceive the power of God speaking to us & them yn his scripture, as the high priests did then perceive him in his deed. Then shal you soon perceive them that shal say, *in qua potestate hoc facis?* To this purpose your question *Baptismus Johannis*, &c. The baptism of John was not a sacrament of the new law ordeyned to endure

from tyme to tyme, but ordeyned & sent from God by hys prophet to bryng the infant chyrche to the knowledg of Christ, to be the readyer to beleve his hygh mysteries & sacraments, that he afterward openyd not only to the only Jews, but to al that beleved or shuld beleve in hym. And for thys was imposition of hands ordeynyd, not to contynue in that effect as it dyd in the begynning of the infant chyrche, but to bryng the baptizyd people unto a ready dysposition to receive the gifts of the H. Ghost in visible synys. The which visible synys are now so far out of sight, that we nother se them, nother

fele them by ony confirmation, that we reseve now in the chyrche. More, saith Durand, that "Baptism is sufficient in time of peace. Although confirmation were requisite in time of persecution, yet we read of many that without this confirmation the chyrche useth in oyl, as Peter, Paul, & other the apostles, yea & many others, that without confirmation hath stande to death before the persecutors, baptized in their own bloud. As for example, loke on Emerenciana," &c.

Then this sacramental rite or godly ceremony, the which is to be judged no less than a godly ordinaunce, was not of syche necessitie, nother of syche effect, as it is taken for this time, as afterward shal be shewyd. Wherefore as Christ moved this question to the high priests & scrybbys, so is thys question purposyd unto us, whether that confirmation in oyl, with this word, *consigno te*, &c. be of Christs or of mannys techyng. Yf yt be of Christs, beleve yn yt; yf of mannys techyng, say not *timemus plebem*. For truth must be truth, & though the world wholly resist yt, & the headers of that truth that God techyth cannot escape just judgment. But that yt ys of Christ, S. Tomas in the third part of hys summs Q. LXXIIa. ar°. 1°. ad 7. saith, "Christus instituit hoc sacramentum non exhibendo, sed promittendo." Where he grauntyth that Christ did not indede institute this sacrament, but did promise yt. For the which he bryngeth a text of Joh. 16. chap. "Si non abiero, paracletus non veniet ad vos," &c. - - - - - this, how much yt makyth for this purpose that confirmation in oyl, &c. is a sacrament of the new law, & that yt geveth *augmentum gratiæ*, or strength against persecution; there is nothing les meant therein.

Truth yt ys, that the H. Gost geveth thys, but we daily see that they that are now confyrmyd lackyth much of the strength, that dyvers had that never recevyd syche confirmation. And where he & Durand with others alledgeth Melchiades, *ad Hispani-*

arum episcopos, though he be denyed of some, yet graunt yt, that he sayth so, then have you provyd, that a man sayth so, & not Christ. But he alledgeth the Acts of the Apostles, that Peter & Johan leyd their hands upon the people of Samary, that had recevyd baptism, & therwith they recevyd the H. Gost. Truth yt ys, that they dyd so; & so was the Holy Gost gevyn: but there ys no promyse, that as often as we do thys, that then he or she, that we do so unto, furthwith al shal receive the H. Gost with syche gyfts as the Samaritanes dyd. And yet yt ys necessary, that we have syche promyse afore that we should make a doctrine to the people, that they shal beleve, that every man that ys confyrmyd, shal inevitably (al thyngs done that ys usyd to be done by mynisters of the chyrche) receive the H. Gost in such effects.

p. 233. More, yf we stand in contention herein, & say, that though we have no expres wretyn word for thys, yet we have the unwretyn verity; surely then have we a large garden to gather what we lyst, & approve al thyngs for sacraments, that the fathers hath received, & beryth a signification of holynes; as holy asslys, holy plame (palm) holy water, &c. & shal so increse to an infinite number without nede of sacraments.

And more, where there ys alledgyd “S. Denys in qto. *cœlestis hierarchiæ, est quædam perfectiva operatio, quam duces nostri, quos apostolos vocant, chrismatis hostiam nominant;*” I graunt that Denys there speakyth of the Creme, but not of syche sacrament of creme, that the chyrche now usyth. Wherefore I graunt, that the use of creme came from the apostles, but not with doctrine, that who-soever recevyth yt, recevyth yn it *septiformem spiritum*.

Wherefore, I suppose, that thys holy rite & godly ceremony began by holy fathers, to examyne the feith of them that were baptized infants, when that they should come to yeres of discretion, as my Lord

of Harfords (Herefords) boke more evidently (sheweth;) and then, “ Per verbum & orationem, & impositionem manuum, confyrmyd that feith, which they did confes with their mouths. And thys ys in my judgment not to be dispisyd, but to be allowyd & approvyd, yea although that syche mynisters take therunto holy oyl, as they do now at thys day.

The judgment of Longland, Bishop of Lincoln.

AD primam quæstionem. Confirmatio est sacramentum novæ legis, & institutum a christo.

Probatio. Primò, testimonio Fabiani martyris, Clementis & Dionysij.

Confirmatio dat Gratiam.

Secundò, quod conferat gratiam, docent loci Act. 8. & 19. quos omnes interpretes de confirmatione intelligunt. Et prætereà Origines Lib. 1. Peri Archon, capite 3. Augustinus li. 15. De Trinitate. cap. 26. Beda, Act. 10. Chrysostom & Theophilactus, super initio G. cap. ad Hebræos. Augustinus li. 2. Contra literas Petiliani donatistæ. cap. 19.

Signa Externa.

Ad secundam quæstionem. Impositio manuum. Consignatio crucis in fronte, adhibito etiam chrysmate.

Probatio. Manuum *impositio* habetur expressè ex actis *apostolorum*. *Consignationem* cum chrysmate, Fabianus & Dionysius aiunt se ex apostolis accepisse, ex traditione divina.

Promissio.

Promissionem sanctam huic sacramento citat Petrus, 2. Act. ex Joele, cap. 2. “ Et erit in novissimis diebus, dicit Deus, effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem, & prophetabunt filij vestri,” &c.

p. 234. *The judgment of Capon, alias Salcot, Bishop of Bangor.*

1a. Quest. Whether this sacrament be of the N. Testament, instituted by Christ, or not?

Thanswere. THIS sacrament is a sacrament of the N. Testament; thus meaning instituted, (since the tyme of the N. Testament preached) not of Christ so far as we can know by scripture, but of the fathers of the church.

2da. Quest. What is the outward sign, & what be the invisible graces promised in this sacrament?

Thansw. That the outward signes be the unctions with chrism, & certain words therunto appointed. The invisible graces promised by scripture, we can find none: but by doctors we find, that therby is given a ghostly strength to confes boldly faith, & to resist the temptations of the adversaries.

3ia. Quest. What promises be made, that the said graces shall be received by this sacrament?

Thansw. Promise made by scripture we find none. The doctors write, that by this sacrament be received the graces above mentioned.

The judgment of Stokesly, Bishop of London.

The first question. Whether the sacrament of confirmation be a sacrament of the N. Testament? &c.

To this I answer, that it is.

The second question. What is the outward sign, & the invisible graces? &c.

To this I answer, that the words "Signo te signo sanctæ crucis, & confirmo te," &c. with the consignation, with the cream, imposition of hands of the prelates, be the signes: & the increase of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, & especially of fortitude, to speak, shew & defend the faith, & to suffer for the same in case need be, (be the invisible graces.)

The third question. What promises be made of the said graces?

I answer, That the facts & deeds, that be expressed in the books of the apostles, with the effects ensueing, by the imposition of their hands upon them that before had received remission of their sins, joined with the promises of Christ made to his church, & the continual belief of the university of the same catholick church, from the time of the apostles hitherto, without contradiction of any man (ignorants & suspects of heresy only excepted) maketh us, & in my opinion, (without prejudice of other mens opinions) ought to suffice to make al men, that hath promised to believe the catholick church, assuredly to think, that God hath made the promises of the said grace. p. 235.

“Ergo Joannes London. sic respondeo, fretus autoritate, & testimonio antiquissimorum, eorúmque doctissimorum pariter ac sanctissimorum virorum, & præcipuè sanctæ matris nostræ ecclesiæ catholicæ: cui etiam in non expressis in sacra scriptura, non multo minus quam scriptis, fides adhibenda est: nisi tam de baptismo parvulorum, quam de perpetua deiparæ virginis integritate, & id genus compluribus, quibus sine salutis periculo nemo discredet, licebit salva fide contradicere.”

The judgment of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Whether confirmation be instituted by Christ?

Respon. There is no place in scripture, that declareth this sacrament to be instituted of Christ.

First, For the places alledged for the same be no institutions, but acts & deeds of the apostles.

Secondly, These acts were done by a special gift given to the apostles, for the confirmation of Gods word at that time.

Thirdly, The said special gift doth not now remain with the successors of the apostles.

What is the external sign ?

The church useth *chrisma* for the exterior sign, but the scripture maketh no mention thereof.

What is the efficacy of this sacrament ?

The bishop, in the name of the church, doth invoke the H. Ghost to give strength & constancy, with other spiritual gifts, unto the person confirmed. So that the efficacy of this sacrament is of such value as is the prayer of the bishop, made in the name of the church.

• This is writ with the arch-bishops own hand, the rest above is the hand of his secretary.

“ * Hæc respondeo, salvo semper eruditiorum & ecclesiæ orthodoxæ judicio.”

The judgment of Dr. Wotton, sometime Dean of Canterbury & York.

To the first part of the question I say, That confirmation is a sacrament of the N. Testament.

To the second part I say, That other it is instituted by Christ, or else not inspired the apostles by the H. Ghost.

p. 236. To the second question I say, That the outward sign of confirmation is the touching & marking of the forehead by the hand of the minister to that sacrament deputed. And the invisible grace is a corroboration, or a strengthening & encouraging of him, that receiveth the said sacrament, to resist his ghostly enemy ; & the more willingly & boldly to confes the name & the crosse of Christ.

The third question dependeth on the first & second.

The judgment of Dr. Barbar, sometime advocate in the arches.

Ad primam. Credo non liquere ex scriptura de institutione ; sed ex apostolicis ecclesiæ traditum existimo.

Ad secundam. Credo manus impositionem esse signum ; oleum additum esse, quemadmodum fit in baptismo, non ad sacramenti essentiam.

Ad tertiam. Credo non apparere certam promissionem gratiæ in scripturis. Nihilominus sp. Sanctum dari credo, & ita credere piissimum duco.

“ Hæc respondeo, salvo ecclesiæ orthodoxa iudicio. A qua recedere non intendo, si quicquam responsum sit aliter quam ista iudicaverit.

The judgment of Dr. Bell, Archdeacon of Gloucester.

First of the first. That confirmation is a sacrament of the N. Testament to me appeared most true, not only by a decree of Melchiades, De Consecrat, dist. v. c. 2. *cum alijs ibidem*. And many oder great & antient authors; S. Jerome contr. Lucifer. Basil. De Spu. Sancto. Euseb. in Hist. Ecclesiastica, li. vi. c. 34. But also by the universal consent & use of the holy catholick church; so receiving, observing, & even from the beginning to this present time continuing; & finally, for that, meseemeth, it is hole graunted without controversy of this honorable council.

And that furdernore it is institute by Christ, I take it; thinking verily that none oder might institute a sacrament, as we here take & use the name of a sacrament, to be a sensible sign, having an infallible assistance of grace of the H. Ghost: & so hath both the sign, & the very cause therof.

To the second, The *outward sign* of this sacrament is the sign of the cross in the child's forehead by the bishops (hand) with holy creame; & the form of the words, viz. *Ego confirmo te*, &c. then spoken, as more evidently appeareth & fully in *ca. - - sacr. unctione*: according in al parts to some parts of the scripture.

Where also is declared the *invisible grace* given therby. And I believe verily the seven yefts of the H. Ghost.

To the third question. Meseemeth, that the general promise, that our Saviour made to his dis-

ciples, might for an answer suffice every good christian, although there were no oder, as indeed many is. For the general promise is this.

(The rest is wanting.)

The judgment of Dr. Wolman, Archdeacon of Sudbury, & afterwards Dean of Wells.

Urbanus. Omnes fideles per manum impositionem episcoporum Sp. Sanctum post baptismum accipere debent, ut pleni christiani - - - - - mantur quia cum Sp. Sanctus infunditur - - - - - ad prudentiam & constantiam.

Melchiades. Sp. Sanctus, qui super aquas baptismi salutiferas descendit, lapsu tribuit ad innocentiam in conformatione, augmentum præstat gratiæ. Et quia in hoc mundo victuris tota ætate inter visibiles hostes & pericula gradiendum est, in baptismo regeneramur ad vitam, post baptismum confirmamur ad pugnam. In baptismo abluimur: in confirmatione roboramur. Et quamvis continuò transituris sufficiant regenerationis beneficia, tamen victuris necessaria sunt confirmationis auxilia. Regeneratio per se salvat mox in pace baptismi vel seculi recipiendos. Confirmatio armat ad agonis hujus mundi prælia reservandos. Quiverò post baptismum acquisita innocentia immaculata pervenerint ad mortem, confirmantur morte, quia jam non possunt peccare.

Quidam. Sacramentum non ab alijs, nisi a summis sacerdotibus perfici possit. Nam si aliter præsumptum fuerit, irritum habeatur & vacuum, & inter ecclesiastica nunquam reputabitur sacramenta.

Rabanus. Baptizatus ungitur in capite & fronte: in capite per sacerdotem, in fronte per episcopum. Prima est in summitate capitis; & per eam significatur super ipsum Spiritus Sancti descensio ad habitationem Deo consecrandam: & hoc in baptismo. Secunda per impositionem manuum episcopi; per quam septiformis gratiæ per Sp. Sanctum cum pleni-

tudine sanctitatis & scientiæ & virtutis venire in hominem declaretur.

Ambrosius de sacramentis. Accepisti mysterium, hoc est, unguentum super caput. Quare super caput? Quia sapientis sensus in capite ejus. Sequitur spirituale signaculum, quod audisti legi hodie, quod post fontes superest, quo perfectio fiat, quum ad invocationem sacerdotis Sp. Sanctus infunditur.

The judgment of Dr. Marshal, Archdeacon of Nottingham.

Confirmatio est sacramentum novæ legis a Christo institutum, & traditum ecclesiæ per apostolos.

Datur per impositionem manuum, hoc est, consignationem; confert septiformem gratiam, & præcipuè robur, ut resistatur peccato.

Habet & promissionem generalem, qua Christus adsistit suis sacramentis.

The judgment of Dr. Cliff, Chantor of York, afterwards Dean of Chester. p. 238.

1. Est sacramentum novæ legis, institutum a Christi apostolis id tradentibus.

2. Exterius signum est impositio manuum episcopi signantis confirmandum signaculo sanctæ crueis in fronte cum chrismate.

3. Per hoc sacramentum anima fidelis roboratur & confortatur ad versus inimicos spirituales per septiformem gratiam Sp. Sancti tunc confirmato infusam.

The judgment of Dr. Edmunds, Master of Peter House in Cambridg.

Confirmation is not a sacrament of the new law, instituted by Christ by any expressed word in h. cripture, but only by the tradition of the fathers.

Confirmation hath not any outward sign expressed by h. scripture. But doctors saith, that the holy

chrisme, & certain words said by the bishop, that is to say, “ Consigno te signo crucis, confirmo te chrismate salutis in nomine patris & filij & Sp. Sancti,” be the outward signes.

Confirmation hath no promise of any invisible grace by Christ by any expressed word in h. scripture. But doctors saith, by it is received strength to fight ayenst the spiritual enemies.

There be no promises of grace made by Christ to them that receive confirmation.

The judgment of Dr. Downes, chancellor of the church of York.

Confirmatio est sacramentum novæ legis, institutum a Christo, traditum per apostolos.

Et per illud confertur septuplex Sp. Sancti gratia, & præcipuè robur, ut resistamus peccato.

Cui signum est impositio manuum, & consignatio.

Promissio generalis, quod Christus assistit ijs qui per ipsum instituit sunt.

The judgment of Dr. Marmaduke.

Whether this sacrament, &c.

This is a sacrament of the N. Testament: institute of Christ.

What is the outward sign? &c.

The outward sign is imposition of hands, & the sign of the cross with holy oyl in the forehead. And the p. 239. graces invisible is the H. Ghost, in whom is all graces, & especially consolation & strength.

What promises be made? &c.

Christ promiseth the church to be with them, & to assist them to the end of the world. And in the 8th cap. of the Acts, was by the apostles given the H. Ghost; and also in the 19th of the Acts. Which places & Christs promise no christian men need doubt, but ought to believe the graces & gifts of the H. Ghost to be given in this sacrament.

The judgment of another divine, nameles.

THE FIRST ARTICLE.

Whether this sacrament, &c.

That authority that it hath must needs be of the N. Testament, or else it could have no place among christen men. Forsomuch as al ceremonies of the Old are abrogated. And as to the second necessarily it followeth, that needs it must have its institution of Christ. For the New Testament is only of Christ. The institution of Christ may be either by express scripture, or else by the authority of scripture it may be institute, though that the scripture by expres words do not institute the same. And this appeareth not only by al the old fathers in divers matters, but also by the words of Melancthon in his article of the baptism of children. When as he hath for the proving of the said article this formal rule, that is to say, "Tho that by expres scripture it be not instituted, yet it is received & used by the authority of scripture, joining with the same the perpetual consent of the universal church; which in al things hath been at al times of a great estimation by the doctrin of al the fathers," as Melancthon approves before, not dissenting from the old fathers, as he protestes divers times.

The place of scripture, that giveth authority to this sacrament, seemeth to be the viijth chapt. of the Acts, as Bede expresly understandeth the same, & Rabanus after him, & Erasmus also.

Wherefore tho it have not so great mystery, nor yet be not of so great necessity & vertue, as the other sacraments are; yet it is reverently to be observed.

THE SECOND ARTICLE.

What is the outward sign? &c.

The outward sign is the imposition of the hand, for that is expressed in scripture. The oil or the chrism are the institutions of the fathers, as I sup-

pose, for the good signification of that oyl hath in scripture, that is to say, comfort, gladnes, the H. Ghost; & the gifts of the H. Ghost.

p. 240. The invisible graces are gifts of the H. Ghost; gifts of constancy, strength, & such other: but in what mesure is only in the knowledg of Almighty God. The H. Ghost, that is to say, gifts of the H. Ghost, were given by the imposition of the hands at that time visible; as gifts of tongues, & such other. As at that time it was necessary to have extern gifts & miracles, to teach expresly, & confirm the faith, which now are not necessary. The imposition of the hand, with prayer of the bishop, (as without fail, in my opinion, there was never imposition of hands without prayer) by virtue of Gods word, giveth the former gifts.

And, as I suppose, to give a form of a sacrament, because there should not want *elementum*, required peradventure in such a sacrament, as in baptism water, the fathers added oyl.

But I suppose, as in the sacrament of penance, witnessing so Melancthon, the absolution which is don by imposition of the hand with the word, is the sacrament in that case; so in this case the imposition of the hand, with the prayer of the minister, is the sacrament.

THE THIRD ARTICLE.

What promises, &c.

I know none other promises than are made in the said viijth chap. of Acts, supposing the apostles executed that thing. By the which there were at that time apparent tokens of the gifts of the H. Ghost, so taught by Christ their master, that it might remain a perpetual doctrin to their successors in like maner to use the same.

The judgment of Dr. Robinson.

Confirmationis institutio.

Confirmationem, consignationem, sive sacramen-

tum chrismatis, a Christo institutum esse, autores Fabianus martyr, & Clemens comes Pauli, Dionysius Pauli discipulus, Aug. 15. De Trin. cap. 26. Bed. Act. 10. Cyprianus in Sermone De Unctione Chrismatis, et alijs Sacramentis.

Signa externa confirmationis.

Oratio, impositio manuum, signum crucis impressum fronti, adhibito etiam chrismate.

Signum.

Signum quid sit docet Aug. 2. De doct. Christian. cap. 1.

Oratio.

Quomodo datur Sp. Sanctus per orationem docet idem Aug. lib. 15. De Trin. cap. 26.

Impositio manuum.

Hæc multiplex fuit. Nam imponebantur manus confirmandis Act. 8. ordinandis presbyteris, 1 Tim. 4. Infirmis curandis, Marc. 16. Et hæreticis redientibus ad ecclesiam; et correctis, ut est apud Cyprian. & Aug. Et hæc traditio apostolica est.

Impositio manuum in confirmandis.

p. 241.

Per manuum impositionem gratiam dari satis declarant loci, Act. 8. & 19. Origines li. 1. $\pi\epsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\varsigma\ \alpha\prime\varsigma\chi\acute{\omega}\nu$ cap. 3. Aug. li. 15. De Trin. cap. 26. Beda Act. 10. Chrysost. & Theophylactus super initio 6. cap. ad Hebræos.

Signum crucis in fronte.

De hoc Aug. in Dialogo Ecclesiæ & Synagogæ. A quo vocatur Signum Salutis, ex Ezech. 9. Et Apoca. 7. 13, & 14. Et Hieron. super Ezech. 9.

Sacrum chrisma.

Hoc a $\chi\acute{\rho}\iota\sigma\mu$ nomen habet, quod significat Unctio. Unde & Christum dictum esse autores Cyprianus in Sermone de Unctione Chrismatis, & Aug. lib. 2. Contr. literas Petiliani donatistæ. Ubi & confirma-

tionem chrismatis sacramentum appellat. Quin & gratia Sp. Sancti 1. Jo. 2. ter vocatur *χρῖσμα*. Christus ipse docuit fieri chrisma, ut est autor Fabianus martyr in epistola ad orientales episcopos : Cyprian. in Sermone De Unctione Chrismatis ; & Dionysius de Ecclesiastica Hierarchia. cap. 4.

Christum aut apostolos usos fuisse chrismatis unctione, nec constanter, aut convinci potest aut negari, quando in sacris literis non habeatur expressum ; quum tamen Fabianus martyr, & Dionysius asserant se ab apostolis per manus accepisse. Testatur & Joannes cap. ult. “ Multa esse quæ fecit Jesus, quæ non scripta sunt.” Prætereà, quæ Lucas in act. apostolicis ab apostolis gesta scribit, acta sunt ante annum 30^{um} a passione Christi ; cum tamen aliquot ab apostolis superstites erant post excidium Hierosolymitanum. Ad hæc Damascenus lib. 4. cap. 13. Orthodoxæ fidei ait multa esse tradita ab apostolis, quæ non sunt scripta ; ut est adoratio ad orientem, &c. Quin & Cyprian. in ablutione pedum ; Aug. ad Januarium ; Tertullianus in lib. De Coronâ Militis, astringunt nos ad traditiones apostolorum, ad concilia universalia ritè coacta, ad legitimas ac receptas consuetudines, non minus quam ad ipsas sacras literas.

Efficacia & virtus confirmationis.

Vis hujus sacramenti est exhibitio gratiæ Sp. Sancti ad robur ac constantiam in bono, ad reluctandum malo, ad extinguendum fomitem, ad augmentum gratiæ, &c. Clemens ait in hoc sacramento dari septiformem gratiam Sp. Sancti ; Cyprian. sapientiam, intellectum, consilium, fortitudinem, scientiam, pietatem, timorem, per hoc sacramentum, divinitus, cœlitus, & supernis inspirationibus infundi testatur. Sic Aug. li. 15. De Trin. cap. 26. Orig. *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, lib. 1. ca. 3. Crys. & Theophyl. vj. ad Hebræos.

Objectio.

Siquis objiciat donum linguarum, & prophetiam,

cæterâq; dona Sp. Sancti quæ olim per apostolos dabantur, cessasse, & proinde Gratiam, per impositionem manuum, jam non dari, respondeat Aug. li. 3. De bapt. contra Donatistas, his verbis: "Neq; enim temporalibus & sensibilibus miraculis attestantibus per manus impositionem modo datur Sp. Sanctus, sicut antea dabatur, ad commendationem rudis fidei, & ecclesiæ primordia dilatanda." Quis enim nunc expectat, ut hi, quibus manus ad accipiendum spiritum imponitur, repenti incipiant linguis loqui? Sed invisibiliter & latenter intellegitur, per vinculum pacis eorum cordibus divina charitas inspirari, ut possint dicere. "Quoniam charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Sp. Sanctum, qui datus est nobis."

p. 242.

Necessitas Confirmationis.

Quantum expediat hoc sacramentum omnibus exhiberi patet (ex) Fabiano. Ex epistola Cornelij de - - - onato. Ex Clemente. Ex Dionysio, et ex Aug. lib. 2. Contr. literas Petil. cap. 104.

Traditiones non scriptæ necessariae ad salutem.

Baptismus infantium, autore Augustino. Non rebaptizandum, qui ab hæretico baptizatur. Ὁμοίως. Perpetua Virginitas Mariæ. Apostolos fuisse baptizatos. Quod tamen scriptum non est.

The judgment of Dr. Richard Smith, sometime public professor of divinity at Oxford.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Whether confirmation be a sacrament, &c.

I affirm, that it is so, & that by the word of Christ written. Not the tables of stone, nor yet the skins of parchment, or any other semblable thing; but in the hearts of the apostles. The which strait after their masters ascension used the said sacrament, & left it to the church without writing. For these apostles of Christ fully & perfectly instructed by him, left sundry & many things to the church, not putting them

in any maner of writing. The which universally received & alwayes used in the church, from that time even to these dayes, must & ought to be believed as firmly & stedfastly, as any part of the gospel written; or else these articles subscribed were necessary to be ceased; which to defend is heretical :

- I. Parvulos baptizatos consequi remissionem peccatorum.
- II. Transubstantiari panem & vinum in eucharistia.
- III. Quod filius in divinis sit consubstantialis patri.
- IV. Perpetua virginitas deiparæ virginis.
- V. Quod sint tres personæ in divinis.
- VI. Quod pater sit ingenuitus.
- VII. Quod Judæi conversi non deberent observare legalia.
- VIII. Quod missa sacrificium.
- IX. Quod malus sacerdos potest ministrare sacramenta.
- X. Quod ab hæreticis baptizati non sunt rebaptizandi. Cum id genus alijs multis.

p. 243.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

The outward sign is the imposition of the hands of the bishop, & the unction of creame used therin. The invisible grace is the sevenfold grace of the H. Ghost, as wisdom, fear, with the rest; & encrease of the grace justification received by baptism, or the sacrament of penance, if the taker be in grace.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

This is not apertly put in writing, but taught the apostles by Christ, & the church by them.

The judgment of Dr. Buckmaster, Vicechancellor of Cambridg, in 1528, 1537, & 1538.

Sacramentum confirmationis.

Materia hujus sacramenti est duplex, Propinqua & Remota.

Materia Propinqua est vinctio facta in fronte in figura crucis cum chrysmate sanctificato.

Materia Remota est chrisma composita ex oleo olivæ & balsamo, sanctificatum specialiter ab episcopo, vel ab alio cui talis sanctificatio committi poterit. Quippe omnia sacra, quæ requirunt ministerium determinatum & sacratum, requirunt etiam materiam sanctificatam, saltem in illo sacro, ubi requiritur materia sensibilis.

Per oleum, quod alijs liquoribus supereminet, designatur charitas. Per balsamum suaviter fragrantem, odor bonæ famæ, qui in confirmato esse debet.

Forma hujus sacramenti est talis: "Consigno te signo crucis, & confirmo te chrysmate salutis, in nomine Patris & Filij & Sp. Sancti."

Signata in parte determinata, nempe in fronte, in signum quod deponeret omnem erubescentiam ad audacter confitendum christum.

And here it is to be noted, before the death of our Saviour Christ, there was no confirmation sacramental used. For as S. John saith in his gospel, "Nondum erat Sp. Sanctus datus, quia nondum erat Jesus glorificatus." And in another place he saith on this wise, "Expedit vobis, ut ego vadam. Si non abiero, paracletus non veniet ad vos. Si autem abiero, mittam vobis illum." And albeit that the apostles received the H. Ghost before the day of Pentecost, yet did they then first receive him *in signum sacramenti confirmationis*; that is to say, in token of the sacrament of confirmation: what time the H. Ghost appeared to them in fiery tongues. Which fiery tongues were a visible & sensible sign of the H. Ghost then sent, & given unto them to confirm & establish them in Christs faith, &c.

And the reason why that the Almighty God used this sign here in this sacrament, was this. First, He used the sensible sign of a *tongue*, signifying by the same, that they should be liberal of their tongues to preach the faith of Christ. And again, this figure of a tongue appeared in fire, to signify to them, that

p. 244. they should be hot and fervent in charity; & they should not preach & teach the faith of Christ for any lucre or worldly promotion, but only for the love of Christ, & for the health of their neighbours. And thus did Christ *confirm* his apostles, given unto them his manifold inward graces; & not only outward, as it was then expedient for that time, by such an outward & sensible form, or scene, that is to say, a fiery tongue.

But after this, forasmuch as fire cannot be applied unto a mans body without hurt, therefore in his place was taken oyl. Which is a thing, & a matter next unto burning, & draweth most ny unto the nature of fire; having in it also a marvelous cleanness, which is a quality appropriate unto the fire. Furthermore, in the stead of a tongue, the church useth balm: & that for this counsel. For as balm hath a good & a sweet savour, & preserveth from corruption, so by the manifold graces, which be here conferred in this sacrament, they that lyveth & worketh according unto the same, hath a sweet & a good savour, of a good name & fame before God, either by confessing & preaching of Christs faith, or else by the strong resistings & vanquishing of his enemyes, the devil, the flesh & the world. And so is also preserved from the corruption of sin.

And as touching these two, that is to say, oyl & balm, which we called before *Materiam hujus sacramenti*, with the holy consecrations of the same, which may be called *Mysteria sacramenti*, no doubt but that, as the most ancient doctors doth write, the apostles of Christ, by Christs authority, did institute & ordain the same; or else, to speak better, Christ did institute them by the apostles: although that in the beginning, for a certain season he might dispense with them, that they should not need to use such matter, but only prayer & imposition of their hands upon such as they did confirm. And although mention of these & such other things, rites & ceremonies, which our mother the church

useth, not only in the ministration of this sacrament, but also in many of the other, is not had expresly in scripture; yet be al such to be observed & fulfilled by the order of apostolical tradition. For as S. Aug. writeth in a certain place, "Those things be not mentioned in scripture which were commonly don, & yet by some things there they may be understood in the word." Wherfore S. Gregory, li. 7. Registr. Epla. 16. saith, "That the order of antient custom, & the canons of the church is an interpreter of al doubts, that be not expressed in scripture."

De Fid. &
Operib.
ante Me-
dium.

Wherfore albeit al things, concerning & appertaining unto this sacrament, be not expresly had in scripture, yet ought we reverently & obediently to accept & receive the same: forasmuch as the church, that is to say, the whole multitude of christen people, hath so allowed & received them hitherto.

The promises made unto the receivers of this sacrament.

"Apostoli imponebant manus super baptizatos, & acceperunt Sp. Sanctum," Actorum 8. Which thing they never would have attempted, but only by revelation & precept of the H. Ghost. And so that sure hope, which they used in the ministring of this sacrament, doth openly shew and argue, that the H. Ghost had promised unto them, that he would be ready to give his grace unto them, which should be confirmed: upon whom, for the same cause they should lay their hand. And so it appeareth, that the H. Ghost, which taught & also commanded the apostles to use this outward sign, did in like maner make a promise to the worthy receivers of the same.

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The inward graces.

Rabanus. "Sp. sancti gratia ad robur. In unctione Sp. Sanctus descendit ad habitationem Deo consecrandam. In confirmatione verbo ejusdem Septiformis gratia cum omni plenitudine sanctitatis

& virtutis venit in hominem." Also Urban saith, "That al faithful christians, by the imposition of the bishops hands after baptism, ought to receive the H Ghost, that they may be found ful christen men:" that is to say, to have al those things, which be profitable unto our health, & perfection of virtue.

Yet we read in the Acts of the Apostles, that when Samaria was converted unto the faith of Christ, Peter & John came thither & layd their hands upon them that before were baptized of Philip, & prayed for them, that they might receive the H. Ghost: and likewise Paul layd his hands upon them that were baptized at Ephesus, & they received the H. Ghost, in such wise that the people did speak divers languages, & prophesied. Wherby the consciences - - - - - (the bishops) did use to lay their hands upon them that before were baptized by the priests, & prayed for them that they might have the H. Ghost. And that after it was ordained, that al christian people should after their baptism be presented to their bishops; to the intent that they laying their hands upon them, & consigning them with holy chrism, should pray for them, that they might be confirmed in the H. Ghost: that is to say, that they might receive such gifts of the H. Ghost, &c.

NUMBER LXXXIX.

Humphrey Monmouth, citizen of London, committed to the Tower, for suspicion of heresy, for some books found in his house: his petition to the kings council.

Vnto the most Honorable Lord Legate & Chancellor of England, & to the honorable council unto your Sufferain Lord King Henry VIII. the sixth day of May, & in the xxth yere of his

raigne; beseching your grace, & al my lords & masters, to have pitie on me poor prisoner in the Towre of London at your plesure.

THE xiiijth day of May, & in the yere abovesaid, Foxii MS.
 Sir Thomas Moore, knight, & Sir William Kingeston, knight, & of the kinges noble counsaill, sent for me unto Sir John Dauncies, & of the same counsaill: & there they examyned me what letters & what books I receved lately from beyond the seas, p. 246.
 & I said, None, nor never had of trewthe. And what exhibition I did give to any bodie beyond the sea. I said, None in three yeres past: and examyned me, whether I was acquaynted with many persons? Of the which I was acquainted with none of them to my knowledge & remembrance. I told them in iiij yeres past I did give unto a prieste, called Sir William Tyndal, otherwyse called Hotchens. And then Sir Thomas Moore, & Sir William Kenyston had me home to my house, & serched it, & saw al the letters & books in my howse to my knowledg, by my faith: & there they found no lettres that they regarded, nor Ynglish books but five or six printed, the which they regarded not; & they left them with me, as they found them. And from thence I went again to Sir John Dauncys, my special good master, & he brought me the same day to the Towre of London, & delivered me unto Sir Edmonde Walsyngham, Kt. & lyftenant of the Towre.

Upon iiij yeres & a half past, & more, I herde the foresaid Sir William preach ij or iij sermons at St. Donstones in the West in London; & after that I chaunced to meet with him, & with communication I examyned what lyving he had. He said he had none at all, but he trusted to be with my Lord of London in his service. And therefore I had the better fantasy to him. And afterward he went to my lord & spake to him, as he told me, & my L. of London answered him, that he had chaplaines

inough, & he said to him, that he would have no more at that tyme. And so the priest came to me againe, & besought me to help him, & so I took him into my house half a yere: & there he lived like a good priest, as methought. He studied most part of the day, & of the night at his book; & he would eat but sodden meat by his good wil, nor drink but small single beer. I never saw him weare linnin about him in the space he was with me. I did promys him x/. sterling, to praie for my father & mother there sowles, & al christen sowles. I did paie it him, when he made his exchange to Hamborow. Afterwards he got of some other men x/. sterling more, the which he left with me. And within a yere after he sent for his ten pounds to me from Hamborow: and thither I sent it him by one Hans Collenbeke, as I remember is his name, a merchant of the Stilyard. And since I never sent him the value of one peny, nor never wil. I have given more exhibitions to skollers in my dayes, than to that priest. Mr. Doctor Royston, chaplen to my lord of London, hath cost me more than xL or L pounds sterling. And also Mr. Doctor Wooderal, provinciall of Friar Austynes, hath cost me as much or more. Mr. Doctor Watson, chaplain to the kings good grace, hath cost me somewhat, & somewhat I have given to skollers at his request, & to divers priests & fryars: and yf any of those other should chaunce to turn, as that priest hath done, as God forbid, were I to blame for giving them exhibition.

The foresaid Sir William left me an English book, called Enchiridion. The which book the Abbes of Denny desyred yt of me, & I sent yt to her. And that house hath cost me more than L pounds sterling. I could reherse many more. I do not say this, because I wold be praised, as God knoweth, but bicause your gr. & my lords of the counsell should know that I have spent more for the love of God, after the counsil of good doctors, than of that one priest.

Another book I had of the same copie: a frier of Greenwich desired yt of me, & I gave yt him. I think my Lord of Rochester hath it. I had two books in English wrytten; the one was called the *Pater noster*, an old book. How yt came to my howse, on my faith I cannot tel; & the other book is called *De Libertate Christiana*. I receved him of one Arnold, a yong man, that is gone into Spain, to a gentleman whose name is Mr. Woodall, that went with Sir John Wingfeld, Kt. ambassador into Spaine. I delivered those two books to the father confessor of Sion. And also I delivered him a book of the N. Testament, the which book my L. of London had. Also, I had a litle treatise, that the priest sent me, when he sent for his mony. And all those books, save the books of the N. Testament, laye openly in my house for the space of two yeres or more, that every man might rede on them that would, at their pleasure. I never harde priest, nor fryer, nor lay man find any great fault in them. And so I trust in our Lord God, that your good grace, nor none of my lords & masters of the kings noble councel, wil find any great faults in any of them, when it shal please your gr. or any of the councel to read them, or hear them. And so I trust in our Lord God I shal be gyltless for any evil books, or any other thing that hath been surmysed wrongfully on me. And yf mine accusers be wel examined, peradventure they should be found more fawltly than I shal be, when the trewth shal be known.

I have shewed the book, called *The Enchiridion*, to Mr. Doctor Watson, & to Mr. Doctor Stochouse, parson of Laname (Lavenham) in Suffolk, & to many other, that never found fault in him to my knowledg; & to the father confessor of Syon, & to Mr. Martyn, priest, and parson of Totingebeke. And also the other two books, called the *Pater noster*, & *De Libertate Christiana*, I think they looked them most part over, & they found no fault

at them. But in one of them, *De Libertate Christiana*, they said, there was in him things somewhat hard, except the reader were wyse. And by my faith there was al the fault that ever I herde of them. If I had thought they had not been good, or put any mistrust in any of them, I would not have shewed them openly to so many men as I did. But mine accusers unto your noble gr. I think did never read them over; & yf they did, they were to blame, that they had not the order of charity with them. And yf they had shewed me, that they had been nought or evil books, yf they had been lerned, I would have given credence to them, & done them immediately away. And yf I had then kept them, & they had complayned, then I had bene worthy to have bene punyshed. I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven my self.

When I harde my lord of London preach at Pawles Cross, that Sir William Tyndal had translated the N. Testament in English, & was noughtilie translated, that was the first time that ever I suspected or knew any evil by him. And shortely after, al the lettres & treatyes that he sent me, with dyvers copies of books, that my servant did write, & the sermons that the priest did make at St. Dunstones, I did burne them in my howse. He that did write them did se it. I did burne them for fear of the translator,
p. 248. more than for any yll that I knew by them.

If it like your grace, for this imprisonment I have utterly lost my name, & also my litle credence, which I had, for ever. The which is the greatest loss, & the more sorrow & shame, that ever I had in my liffe. I occupy with divers clothe-men in Suffolk, & in other places. The which have wekely some of them, as they send up their clothes, most have their mony. And yf they fail of their monye, they say, they cannot set the poore folks aworke. There is divers clothemen, the which I buy al their clothes that they make; and yf they should go offer them to sel

to other men now at this time, they wold bid them go & sel where they were wont to sel, when the sale was good : & so the poor men should have great loss. I was wont to sel for most part every yere iiij or v hundred clothes to strangers, which was worth to the kinges gr. in his customes, more than though I had shipped over myself five times so many. I was wont, betwixt Chrystmas & Whytsontide, to sel most part of them. And of trewthe as yet since Chrystmas, I have sold but xxij clothes, nor I send over none, nor no man axeth for none, I praye God amend it, whan yt shall please him. And yf I leye here in prison long, I cannot help my self more, nor none other man, but shal be utterly undon for ever, and yf your gr. be not good & merciful unto me. God is merciful, & wil forgive them that be penitent, & axeth forgivenes. I trust in the Lord I have not offended your gr. nor none of my lords nor masters of the kinges noble counsail, willingly, nor to my knowledg. And yf I have, I beseche your good gr. & al my lords & masters, to forgive me, as you would that God should forgive you.

Yf I had broken most part of the Ten Commandments of God, being penitent, & confessed (I should be forgiven) by reason of certen pardons that I have, the which my company & I had graunted, whan we were at Rome, going to Jerusalem, of the holly father the pope, *a pæna* & *a culpa*, for certain times in the yere. And that I trust in God I receved at Easter last past; furthermore I receved, when your gr. was last at Pawles, I trust in God your pardon of *a pæna* & *a culpa*: the which I beleve verily, yf I had don never so great offences, being penitent & confessed, & axing forgiveness, that I should have forgivenes. Beseching your gr. & al my lords & masters to pardon me, & to forgive me, as I shal be your poor beadman during my liffe: that the bl. Trinitie, & our bl. lady Saint Marie, & al the holly company of heaven, may help you al at your most neede in vertue & grace, *Amen*. I beseche your gr. & al my lords &

masters, to pardon me of my rude wrytinge & termes.
I am unlearned ; my witt is no better.

By your poor bedman & prysoner at your
gr.'s plesure,

HUMFRYE MUNMOUTHE,
Draper of London.

In presentia Reverendi Patris in Christo, Cuthberti
London Episcopi, Humfridus Monmouth recog-
novit se scripsisse istas cartas.

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NUMBER XC.

*The testament & last wil of Mayster Humphray
Monmouth, late citezin & alderman of London.*

Foxii MSS. IN the name of God, *Amen*. The xvj day of the
monethe of Novembre, the yere of our Lord God
MDXXXVII, & the xxix yere of the reigne of our
soveraigne lord King Henry the Eyght, I Humphray
Monmouth, citezin & alderman of the citie of London,
being of whole mynd, & in good & perfect remem-
braunce, laude & prayse be unto Almyghtye God,
make & ordeyne this my present testament, conteyn-
ing herein my last wil, in maner & fourme following,
that is to say ;

Fyrste & principally I commende my soul unto
Christ Jesu, my Maker & Redemer, in whom, & by
the merytts of whose blessed passion, is al my whole
trust of clene remission & forgyvenes of my synnes :
and my body to be buried in the church-yard of the
parish church of Alhallowes in Barkynge, of London,
in such place there where mine executors shal think
convenient. *Item*, I wil that my funeral expenses
shal be done as hereafter I have specified & declared
(& none other nor otherwise) that is to say, I wil
that my body shal be brought to my burial in the
morning after my deceass, or shortly after, with four
or syxe staff-torches brennyng onely, without any
braunches, torches, or herse, & without any *dirige* to
be songe or said than ; & immediately after my

body buried, I wyl have to preach a sermond eyther Doctor Crome, Doctour Barnes, or els Mayster Tayllour, parson of Saynt Peters in Cornhyll, to the laude & prayse of my Lord & Saviour, Jesus Christ, to the setting forth of his blessed & holy word, & to the declaration & testimony of my fayth towards the same. And I wyl that my Lord Byshop of Worcester, Doctor Barnes, Doctor Crome, & Mayster Tayllour, shal preach in my parysh-church aforesayd, every week two sermons, tyl they have preached among them xxx sermons: & I wyl gyve them for every sermonde xiijs. iiij d. And yf any of these foresayde persons cannot be there to preach these sermons, than I wyl that the other supplie his place that shal be absent, so that after they have begonne to preach (which I wold have them do immediatly after my buryal) they shal contynue wekely every weke, tyl the said xxx sermons be al preached, except there be an urgent cause, allowed by myn executours & supervisour to the contrary. And that this thing may be perfourmed the better, I bequethe to eyther of myn especial & syngler good lords, Syr Thomas Audeley, Knyght, lord chancellor, & Syr Thomas Crumwel, Knyght, Lord Crumwel, a standyng cup of sylver & gylte, of the value of x pounds, that they may be good lords to these foresayd preachers, to helpe them & maynteyne them, that they be suffered to preach the forsayd sermons quietly, to the laud & prayse of Almyghty God, to the setting forth of my prynces godly & hevenly purposes, to the utter abolyshyng & extincting of the usurped & false fayned power of the Byshop of Rome. And yf it shal chaunce that these foresayd preachers, or any of them, may not be suffered to preach in my parish-church aforesayde, than I wyl that they preach these forsayd sermons in any other church in London, where they shal thynk it best, or most convenyent for them. And I wyl, that at the end of every sermond the quere shal begynne *Te Deum*, to laud & prayse my Lord Jesus Christ, to

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gyve hym harty thanks for his hevenly & godly word; & to besече hym for his tender mercy, & his swete blouds-sake, that he wyl contynue & encrease it dayly more & more in the hertes of his people: & also that it may please his inestimable godly goodnes to maynteyn our sayd soveraygne lord the king to further his godly & gracious purposes, *Amen*.

And to every preest & clerke, belonging to the same church, that wyl help to synge it, to have for his labour ii d. or els nothyng. *Item*, I wyl have no mo preestes & clerks at my funeral mass, than do serve dayly in our parysh church. And I wyl that every of the sayd preests & clerks have his accustomed duty with the mooste. *Item*, I wyl have no bells ronge for me, but onely a peale to the sermond. Nevertheless I wyl that the clerk, & al other poor men have their duty, as moche as though they had ronge. *Item*, at my moneth-mynd, I wyl have nothing done, except it be a sermond. *Item*, I wyl I have no more mourners but myn executors, & my mother-in-law, & myn aunt, Agnes Hurry, &c.

Item, I wyl, that al such dettes & dutyes as I owe of ryght or of conscience, to any person or persons, be wel & truly contented & payd by myn executors hereafter named, or els ordeyned for so to be payd without any delay or contradiction. And after my dettes payd, & my funeral expences performed, I wyl that al my goods, cattalls, & dettes, shal be divided into theyr (three) egal parts. Wherof I wyl, that Margery my wyfe shal have one egal part to her own propre use, in name of her purpart, & reasonable part to her of al my sayd goods, cattalls, & dettes, after the laudable custom of the cite of London belonging. And the second egal part of al my sayd goods, cattalls, & dettes, I bequethe to Grace & Elizabeth, my doughters, & the child now being in the womb of my sayd wyfe, egally to be divided amongst them, & to be delivered unto them, whan they shal accomplysh & come to theyr lawful ages of xxj yeres, or els be maryed, &c. And if it

fortune any of my sayd children to deceass before they accomplysh theyr said ages, & before that tyme be not maryed, that than I bequethe her part, or his part of them so deceasyng, to the other of them than survyving, to be delyvered unto them whan they shal accomplyshe theyr sayd ages, or else be maried. And if it fortune al my sayd children to deceass, as God it defend, before they accomplysh theyr sayd ages, & before that tyme be not maryed, that than I bequethe as wel al & singler the sayd part & porcion of my sayd children, of my sayd goods, cattals, & dettes, as also my legacy to them hereafter bequethed, to & amongst the children lawfully begotten of the body of - - - - - Acton, now wyfe of Acton, & daughter of my brother Rychard Monmouth, late of Tynbery, in the county of Worcester, deceased, to be payd & delyvered to them at lyke ages, & in lyke maner as is appoynted to myn own chyldren, & every chyld lykewyse to be others heire therof. And yf it shal fortune al the chyldren of the sayd - - - - - Acton, of her body lawfully begotten, to decease, which God defend, before they come to theyr said lawful ages, & before that tyme be not maryed, than I wyl that al theyr sayd parts & porcions of my sayd goods, cattalls, & dettes, shal wholly be employed & bestowed in amending & repaying of hygh noyous wayes, nyghe about the citie of London, & to the maryage of poor maydens, by the discretion of myn executours & overseer, yf they be than lyvyng, or els by the discretions of the l. maior & his bretherne of the citie of London.

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And the third egal part of al my sayd goods, cattalls, & dettes, I reserve unto my self & to myn executours, therwith to perform my legacies & bequestes herafter specified, that is to wyt: Fyrst, I bequeth unto my mother-in-lawe, Maistress Elizabeth Denham, a jewel of the valew of x pounce. *Item*, I bequethe xxx pound to be distributed, shortly after my desease, within the sayd parysh of Alhallowes, & in my ward of the Toure of London, by the discretion

of my executours & overseer. *Item*, I bequethe to the sayd Mayster Robert Barnes x pound & a gowne. *Item*, I bequethe to Christopher Elyot, my servaunt, x pound, to thintent that he shal instruct myn executours faythfully & truly in al my rekenynges & busines. *Item*, I bequethe to my sayd aunt, Agnes Hurry, a black gowne. *Item*, I bequeth to the maister, wardens, & felyshyp of the Drapers, v pounde, for a recreation, or a dyner, amongst them that shal be in theyr lyveres at my buryal. *Item*, I bequeth to every of my servaunts, that shal be in my house & service at the time of my deceas, a gowne, not being black in any wyse. *Item*, I bequethe to the sayd Margery my wyfe, c. pound of my sayd porcion, to thintent & upon condition, that she in her wydohode, by her dede sufficiaunt in the law, shal clearly remyt & release al her ryght, tytle, & interest, that she than shal have, or ought to clayme or have, by reason of her maryage unto me, to, of, & in al & syngler my lands & tenements, & other theyr appurtenances, set, lying, & being within the countie of Hertford, & elsewhere within the realm of England. And in case my said wyfe than refuse so to do, & not so release, that than as now, & now as than, I wyl that my sayd legacy so made to her of the sayd c. pounde, shal be voyd & of none effect. *Item*, I wyl that my sayd wyfe shal inhabit & have my house wherin I now dwel, in the sayd parysh of Alhallowes, during her wydohode; & as sone & whan as she shal be assured, or maryed to any other man, that than I wyl that the lease & termes of yeres of, & in the same, shal be sold to the most pryce, & furderaunce that can be, to the profyt of my sayd chyl dren.

The resydue of al my goods, catalles, & dettes, after my dettes payd, my funeralls expences perfourmed, & these my legacies, conteyned in this my present testament, fulfilled, I wholly gyve & bequeth to my sayd chyl dren, equally to be devided amongst them, & to be delyvered unto them accordyng as I have above wylled & declared, that theyr sayd own

porcyons shal be. Provyded alwayes, & it is my very wyl, mynde, & entent, that shortely after my decease, al & syngler my wares, stuff of household, plate, & al other my goods, whatsoever they be, shal be prayed by two indifferent persons to be named & sworne by the lord mayre of London, & his bretherne, for the tyme being. And al & syngler the porcyons therof, appertaining to my sayd chyldren, as wel theyr second part, as my sayd legacy so to them made & bequethed of myn own part, immediately after the sayd appraising, to be ordered accordyng to the custome of the Orphanage of the citie of London, by the lord mayre & his bretherne. p. 252.

Item, I wyl that the yonge men, being free of the felyshyp of Drapers of London, shal have thoccupyng of al my sayd chyldrens porcyons & legacies, duryng theyr nonnages, they puttyng in sufficient sureties therfore, according to the sayd custome of the citie of London. And I wyl, & my mynde & entent is, that my sayd father-in-law, Wyllyam Denham, & Elizabeth his wyfe, or theyr assignes, shal have the kepyng, governaunce, & bryngyng up of my sayd chyldren, duryng theyr nonnages.

And of this my present testament, I make & ordeyne the sayd Margery my wyfe, & my sayd father-in-law, Wyllyam Denham, citezin & alderman of London, myn executours. And I bequeth unto the sayd Wyllyam Denham, for his labour in that behalfe, xx pound & a black gowne. And of the execution of the same, I make & ordeine the sayd Mayster Robert Barnes overseer. And I utterly revoke & adnul al & every other former testaments, wylles, legacies, bequests, executours, & overseer, by me in any wyse before this tyme made, named, wylled, & bequethed. And I wyl, that this my present testament, togethers with all the legacies, bequests, executours, & overseer, by me herein made, wylled, & bequethed, shal stand & abyde for my very testament, & none other, nor otherwyse. In wytnes wherof to this my present testament & last wyl, I the sayd Humphray Mon-

mouth have set my seal: yeven the day & yere fyrst above wryten. These wytnesses, Wyllyam Robyns, marcer; Wyllyam Carkeke, scryvener; Wyllyam Strode, gentleman; & Thomas Parnel, draper; with other.

NUMBER XCI.

A brief & short Instruction given the Curats & Clergy of the dioces of Chichester, by Richard Sampson, bishop of the same.

Cleopatra,
E.5.p.294.

p. 255.

FOR so myche that a great part of the quietnes of Christs flock, & the right & godly maner of living according to Gods word & pleasure, with the merciful grace of Almighty God, resteth in the maners of such as hath the care of souls: by whose negligence great disorders & dissensions are grown & encreased, to God's high displeasure; &, by the furtherance of our ghostly enemy, the devil, hath caused hatred & malice so to encrease, that in the place of love & cherite, envy & wrath are planted into a great number of hearts: that sorrowful it is for any true christen man to remember it; so that the rest of the flock are not also without fault: as my duty is, I exhort every good christen person to remember his own faults, & not to look to myche upon the faults of the ministers, that he regard not his own: to se a mote in another mans ey, & not a block in his own, as the gospel teacheth in the viith chapter of Matthew. And yet the offence is much more in the ministers than in any other: for their debt is greater, & hath a greater count to render for the charge committed unto them, & ought to be "examples in conversation, in cherite, in faith, & chastity," as the apostle writeth to Timothy in the iiii chapter. Yet nevertheles it is to be considered, that they are ministers appointed, not by mans authority, but by our master Christ, & his word. For so ought men to

take them, “ as ministers of Christ, & distributors of the mysteries of God,” as Saint Pol, in his iiii chapter, & his first epistle to the Corinthians. Therefore the people of God ought to have a reverende respect to such as are the ministers, not for their persons, but for their office, as the apostle teacheth in the xiii chapter to the Hebrews. Discrete ministers ought in such maner also to order themselfe in diligent using their administration with sober, clean, & honest living, that the people might have cause the rather to exteme, love them, & have them in reverence, as the apostle saith in the ii chapter of Timothy.

And therefore, to the intent that the ministers the rather may have continual remembrance better to do their duty, than before times divers hath don, & by their so doing, the flock of Christs church within this dioces may the rather, by their good example, know God, love God & their neibours, & have them as the ministers of Christ in the better estimation, to follow their good examples in word & deed, following & humbly obeying the high commandments, injunctions, & godly intents of the kings majesty, our sovereign high governor under God, & supreme head of this church of England, I RICHARD, bishop of this dioces of Chichester, humble minister under God & the kings said majesty, in the name of our Lord, charge & enjoyn to every curate within this dioces, to have in continual remembrance, & with the help of the grace of God, to accomplish these few adviſements & injunctions following :

First, That every one of them with al diligence fulfil, & in al points accomplish, the kings high & godly orders, commandments, & all other injunctions, either made & set forth, or to be made at any time ; not so much for fear of the corporal paines, appointed in the same orders & commandments, as for the fear of the displeasure of God, & his great punishment against al such as are rebells & enemies to his word. Wherof without fail are al such as doth not obey the high powers & ministers of his people. The high

minister only of God in this realm is the kings majesty; to whom we are so bound to obey here under God in earth, that whosoever doth not obey, he purchaseth *his own damnation*, as witnesseth S. Poll in the xiii chapter to the Romans. This is the pain that we ought to fear above al other corporal pains: for the corporal pains destroyeth & taketh away no more than the uncertain, goods, or the mortal body in this world. The other pains destroyeth body & soul into perpetual dampnation. This ought to be dreaful to every christen person. Not only therfore under these pains al the curats are bound, with a pure & sincere mind, to obey & execute the kings high commandments, as is abovesaid; but also every man else being a subject, is bound to the same obedience, & under the same pains in al things, especially in following the judgment of his highnes, with such counsil as it hath pleased the king to call unto him in his high causes & matters of our religion; & in other good orders, for the quietnes of the people, & the more due ordering of the mysteries of Christs church. And whoso is not of this mind is not only past al sobriety, discretion, humility & bounden duty to man, but also resisteth the wil & ordinance of God, to his extreme damnation.

And because it is so complete, so perfect, so good, that the kings high majesty hath put forth by his laws & injunctions, that nothing can be wel added to the same, I exhort al christen people by the words of S. Poll in the 2d chapter to the Philippians, that “if there be in them any consolation in Christ,” that they trust of any spiritual goodnes by him; or “if there be any comfort in fraternal love & cherite” of one with another, “if there be any succor or plesure to be had by the fellowship of the Spirit of Christ; if there be any pity or mercy, or any good mind in afflictions of one man towards another, which are worldly lovers; by al these as S. Poll exhorteth the Philippians, I require & exhort by the

word of God, al & every good christen man & woman, to endeavor them self to accomplish the spiritual plesure & goodnes, that the k. m. with his godly intents desireth above al things to have among his people ; which is onely to be of one mind in Christs religion, to have the same cheritie of one with another, that they ought to have by the wil, word & commandment of Almighty God ; not dissenting one from another, eschue & abhor al maner of contentions & vainglory, & with al humblenes, with heart & mind, receive the judgments & determinations set forth by the kings highnes, & the whole council of his royal parlament, or any other by his highnes. And sure it is that they that doth in any wise resist, & not humbly receive & obey to these things, either they only think to have the gift of knowledg of the truth above al others, or else of very malice & obstinate heart they refuse to obey against Gods word expresly : which is so great a presumption of mind, that no worldly wise man can approve it, much les the humble spirit of a christen man bound to obey the superior powers by Gods word. And surely they shal have their reward accordingly, if they repent not, both in this world, as manytimes it is Gods plesure to the example of others, or else much more grievously in another world by the dreadful judgment of God.

Secondly & lastly, forsomuch as that the k. m. is our sovereign lord, so that if there were none other cause but that only, every subject is bound by the commandment of God to pray for his king & prince, as the apostle teacheth in the second chapter of the first epistle to Timothy ; yet since he is so gracious a prince, endued with such goodnes, that he hath his special study to the heavenly weal of the souls of his subjects, with the most politic governance of his common wealth, under the pains of the censures of the church for disobeying the word of God, I require & charge every priest within this dioces, not only al other times, but especially in his mas, to have & say, p. 255.

with his heart & mind lift up to God, a special collect for the prosperous health of his majesty : & in the same to have a special & an expres remembrance for the preservation of my lord prince, Prince Edward, the great inestimable jewel of this realm : that it may please God to encrease him with health of body & godly vertue of mind, Amen.

And nevertheles I require & exhort also every other christen man & woman, in the time of their prayers, to have like remembrance for his majesty & my said Lord Prince. Which thing I require & charge every curate diligently to move & require of the people under his cure.

NUMBER XCII.

Richard Bishop of Chichester, to the L. Crumwel ; upon an offence taken against him for a sermon preached at Chichester.

Cleopatra,
E.5.p.298.

MY very good lord, I recommend me unto you : & force now constraineth me to write unto your lordship, by reason of a report that hath been lately made & spoken abroad by divers, that you should not only not be my good lord, but also use grievous words against me openly, & some of them much touching my poor honesty. My lord, it grieved me not a little, & much the more, since that I knew me clear never to have offended you to my knowledg in thought, word or deed. I know that ye have been my singular good lord divers times, & in many things ; the which shal never be lost for my part to my little power. Wherefore, my lord, I beseech you, that I may have your advertisement, if there hath been ony sinister report against me, os this world is ful of malicious tongues, that I might answer to it. And if that your lordship think that I have offended you, I pray you, os charity requireth, admonish me therof, that I may know my fault to amend it, or to recompence to my power.

And os concerning mine own preaching, I wil not otherwise teach, God willing, than may be to the wealth of the hearers, & plesure, first I should have said, to God. If there have been ony sinister report of the little sermon that I had at Chichester, upon our Ladies day, the *Assumption*, I shal gladly answer to it. I suppose in my little mind, I spake nothing, but that if ye had been present, ye would have been very wel content with it. And os concerning ony other mans preaching that is of my dioces, if I shal know his evil preaching, I shal endeavour me to reform him, or else to bring forth his fault, that it may be corrected in example of others. My good lord, I shal use no fawning or dissimulation, I assure you, in these things. And where I have been partly negligent in not resorting to my diocess so oft as I might, & ought to do, my lord, I shal so use my self in that thing, os, I trust, shal be to the plesure of God & the kings, & to my lords & friends contentation.

And moreover, I dare promise, that whatever p. 256.
shal be determined by the kings majesty to set forth to his people in any doctrin, that his highnes, being my good & gracious lord, & also that I may have this favorable assistance of your lordship, I trust in Almighty God, that neither his highnes, nor your lordship shal need to have any travail for that poor dioces. For I doubt not, God willing, to saddle them in such a sort, that if every bishop wil so do his part, the kings people shal be right shortly in a quietness.

Truth it is, my good lord, that surely I am not very friendly to novelties, except that necessity, or a great expedient cause require it. But os touching the worshiping of images, setting up of candles before them, or kneeling, &c. I assure you, I trust ye shal hear shortly in my poor dioces, that they shal know their former faults, & leave it. It was one part of my sermon at Chichester upon the feast of the *Assumption*: and I shal now send one to Rye, &

those parties, who shal also declare that, with other things, unto them in those parties.

My lord, there shal none man be more conformable, & earnest in things determined, than I shal be. And in case that ony man wil lay to my charge for the favouring of the Bishop of Rome, or for ony favor that I should bear to ony maner of doctrin; os I am certainly by rumour enformed that your lordship should have some complainers of me, & what the Germans meaneth in their late writings I know not: first, os concerning the Bishop of Rome, your lordship knoweth no man to be in more obloquy among his friends beyond the seas, than I am.* And my lord, if I were a man able, or of the sort so to use my self, he is not in England or in Germany, but in that matter I durst adventure my life with him, that I am no more a papist than he is. And os concerning other complainers, I desire you, my lord, at the reverence of God, & os the kings chief counsellor, that I may know the specialties, & you to know my answer, before that ye shal give credence to mine accusers. I doubt not, & wel I know before, that some both of Rye & Lewis would complain: & yet sure I am, that neither party hath cause, the matter wel heard. At Lewis, or thereabouts, I never meddled. At Rye I think I have used them charitably, & yet do, & wil do.

* Having
written
against his
authority.

My good lord, os good justice requireth, I pray you suspend the persuasion of your mind, til that ye shal hear mine answer to the accusements. For I doubt not, but that I have used a temperance, & such moderation os no man of good zeale & discretion, the matter wel heard, could in any wise be offended with it.

My lord, after the king, my sovereign lord, he is not in England, whose counsel or advice, that I wil so follow, os onely yours. And, I assure you, I neither speak this for fear, nor for flattery; but to shew you the truth of my mind, os I suppose your lordship knoweth to have found, & known it: & so

shal know it. My lord, I am one of those, I thank God, of such admonitions & afflictions in this world, that hath need to pray with David in the 129 Psalm, “ Domine libera animam meam a labijs iniquis, & a lingua dolosa.” But os ye have been my good lord, so I have no doubt, but that ye wil be in my just defence, & your accustomed goodnes towards me. And in case there is a fault, I wil grant it, & amend it: os knoweth our lord, who preserve you in no less prosperous health to his plesure, than I would that mine own father should have, (whose soul God pardon) if he were alive in this world. At London, the iiij day of Sept. p. 257.

Your own assured,

RICH. CICESTER.

NUMBER XCIII.

The same, to the same; concerning the Bishops of Durham, London, & Winchesters conferences with him, concerning traditions. From the Tower.

My special good (lord,) this morning hath been with me Mr. Dr. Petre, & Mr. Bellows, by your good lordships commandment: & they have signified unto me, that my Lord of Durham denyeth, that he hath comforted me to lean & stick to the old usages & traditions of the church. The which I have mervail that he wil do, it hath been so many & oftentimes, specially, os I have seyde, in the time of the late Bishop of London, when we were busied with the Germans, & also with the book. And to bring it to my L. of Durhams remembrance, I would he should cal to his memory, that he hath an old book in Greek, & in that book are divers things of the old usages & traditions of the old church; the which divers times he caried with him to Lambeth: & os I went with him in his barge, he would tel me of divers places there written for that purpose, & of divers Cleopatra,
E.5,p.300.

things then used & ordained by the Greek church, which were then in controversy. And in the same book, or else in another like, there was a form of a mass written, whether it were of Chrysostomes or Basils, now I remember not. The late Bishop of London also brought other books of Greek; & so they conferred together their books. My L. of Wynchestre, os I have sayd, was not then here. The comfort that he hath given me was now lately, not to fear to help things forward; for the kings highnes was very good lord in them.

Truth it is, that except it were now in *ceremonies*, in the which he wyllled me to be diligent, & to leave none, but to leave that order to the kings majesties plesure, to continue or take away, which it shal please his majesty: else, os I have seyde, he & I have not much conferred together. But in divers other times yet, when we spake of old usages, & old traditions, he was clear in that opinion, that they were not to be broken without a great cause; & that some of them were in no wise to be broken. Os now of late I perceiue both by him, & my Lord of Rochestre, that is one of their matters, wherein they stayed. And my L. of Winchestre told me, that they were al in one opinion, very few except.

p. 258.

I doubt not also but that my (Lord) of Durham remembreth divers times at Lambeth, both in the gallery, & when we departed from my L. of Canterbury, how that the late Bishop of London wold be very earnest with me for those old usages of the church, & such os are called *old traditions*, & that my L. of Durham advised me to the same. These Greek books were sought out only for that purpose, to set forth the old usages & traditions of the church: because they were thought of authority: & so thought I then very much, I trust wel remembred. My L. of Durham wil not sey otherwyse, but that he, & my late L. of London, were fully bent to mayntain as many of the old usages & traditions, as they might; & so they seyde it was necessary to do; especially,

when they appeared by the Greek church. And, os I remember, one special thing was, for *praying for souls*, & that by prayers they were delivered from pains. And in this matter was S. Augustine brought in for (by) both parties. And the messe in Greek was brought in for that purpose. But there was in my L. of Durhams Greek book for other also usages & orders of the church.

My lord also remembreth, that he, with the late Bishop of London, was very diligent to search out in Greek the old canons, os wel such as are called *canones apostolorum*, os others.

These are such special things, my good lord, os now cometh wel to my remembrance, sufficient I trust to cal to my L. of Durhams memory for that purpose. If there were ony thing else in my remembrance, I wold plainly write: or if ony other thing shal come, I shal at al times plainly declare it.

My special good lord, I wholly commend me to God, & to the kings majesties goodnes & mercy; & after them, only to your good lordship, os mine only means: & have most cause humbly to thank you for your inestimable comfort to me, in signifying that his highnes was & is my most gracious lord. Which thing causeth me to bear wel other, els intolerable, troubles of mind, & surely mortal. I beseech Almighty God to preserve your good lordship. In the Tower the 7th day of June.

Your good lordships most bound,

RICH. CICESTER.

NUMBER XCIV.

*Philippus Melancthon ad Regem Henricum VIII.
propria manu.*

S. D. Inclyte Rex. Postquam hoc tempore su- Cleopatra,
E.6.p.332.
bita legatio decreta est, hoc nomine gaudeo delectum esse hunc Franciscum, quo mihi nemo est con-

p. 259.

junctor: qui perpetuam meam observantiam erga regiam majestatem tuam, & meam voluntatem in re publica verissimè poterit R. Majestati tuæ exponere. Tanta enim ejus fides est, & ita probata multis principibus viris, ut ejus de me præsertim, quem penitus novit, oratio, plurimum debeat habere ponderis. Ipse mihi testis erit, mea studia præcipuè semper ad illustrandum piam doctrinam spectasse. Nec aliud homini docto potius faciendum esse censeo. Sed in hac tanta re tamq; difficili, homines privati habent opus summorum regum atq; ordinum auxilijs. Et R. M. T. magnam in spem erexit animos omnium doctorum ubivis gentium, non defuturam se sanctissimis votis piorum flagitantium emendationem ecclesiarum. Quid enim aliud agit factio R. Pontificis, nisi ut res optimas divinitus patefactas debeat; ut inauditam crudelitatem adversus reges, principes & multas nationes exerceat, ut tyrannidem infinitam, & plusquam barbaricam in ecclesia constituat, ad defendendos impios abusos?

Quare cum tantum sit universæ ecclesiæ periculum, non desinam hortari & obtestari R. M. T. ut respiciat veram ecclesiam, velut advolutam ad genua tua veteri supplicum more, & ut autor esse velis constituendi in hac parte firmi consensus, & duraturi ad posteritatem; & inflectas animos cæterorum regum, ne se ad societatem consiliorum pontificiorum adjungant. Hæc res tanta est, ut videt R. M. T. major ut nulla cogitari possit. Eamq; ob causam tali rege digna est, qui eruditione & sapientia cæteris antecellit. Profecto quisquis regum in tanto discrimine laboranti ecclesiæ opem tulerit, is verè imago Dei in terris existimandus erit. Hæc etsi non dubito, quin ipse assidue cogites, tamen scribo, quod R. M. T. prodest etiam exterarum nationum vota cognoscere, quæ optant, ut non solum Britannia tuæ, sed etiam aliarum nationum ecclesijs consulas. Ego mea studia omnia summa cum observantia R. M. Tuæ offero: meq; & hunc Franciscum R. M. tuæ diligentissime commendo.

Christus opt. max. servet incolumem regiam M. T.
ad salutem ecclesiæ. Die Maij XII. Anno 1538.

Regiæ majestatis tuæ

addictissimus,

PHILIPPUS MELANCTHON.

Inclyto & Sereniss. Regi Dom. Henrico

Octavo, Regi Angliæ & Franciæ, &c.

Principi Clementissimo.

NUMBER XCV.

*Frederichus Mychonius, ad D. Thomam Crum-
wellium.*

GRATIAM & pacem a Deo patre nostro, & Do-
mino nostro Jhesu Christo. Illustris & magnifice
domine. Ego jam cum alijs dominis meis princi-
pum oratoribus, quantum potui, causæ religionis,
ad multos jam menses inserviens, tandem in tantam
imbecillitatem corporis, & adversam valetudinem
incidi, ut neq; si velim, ultra possim istis laboribus
adesse. Exuperior enim quottidie magis magisq;
morbos ingravescere & imminui vires meas; adeo
ut nisi maturè ad Germaniam rediero, mihi sit de
vita desperandum. Et quanquam etiam medicorum
sum usus consilio, tamen video me neq; illis medijs
quicquam proficere. Et licet paratus sim pro gloria
Christi promovenda etiam omnia pati; tamen cum
in articulis & in summa doctrinæ Christianæ, eousq;
progressi sumus, ut de præcipuis jam conveniat:
et quod de abusibus est reliquum, cum in eis rebus,
tam verbo quam scripto, nostrorum principium, doc-
torum, ecclesiarum, & nostram sententiam explica-
verimus, & episcopi atq; doctores jam sententiam
nostram teneant: poterant etiam, nobis absentibus,
illa expendere, & quod divinæ voluntati placitum,
& ecclesiæ Dei utile esse viderint, constituere. Oro
itaq; & per Dei bonitatem ac misericordiam, illus-
trem magnificentiam vestram obsecro & obtestor, ut

Cleopatra,
E. 5. p. 227.

p. 260.

hæc qualiacunq; officia nostra, ad quæ pro gloria Dei, & in honorem regiae majestatis & vestræ illustris magnificentiæ promptissimi fuimus, boni consulet. Et quo ego vel mortem ipsam, vel certe valetudinis meæ gravissima pericula evadere possim, nobis illico, & quam citissimè fieri potest, a regia majestate gratiosam dimissionem impetret. Pro qua re, si mihi (quod futurum spero) valetudo restituetur, & vita comes fuerit, me & orando, & quibuscunq; alijs rebus potero, cum regiae majestatis, tam etiam vestræ magnificentiæ, & communis hujus regni salutem, apud Dom. Christum toto studio, quærere velle polliceor. Oro hoc efficiat illustris magnificentia vestra, quo possim prædicare & laudare apud principes nostros, quod hoc officio illustris mag. vestræ & incolumitas mihi restituta, & vita servata fuerit. Dom. Jhesus Christus illustrem mag. vestram in laudem & gloriam nominis sui perpetuo servet, *Amen*. Dat. Londini 1538. Pridie nativitatæ Mariæ.

Excellentiss. illustri. mag. vestræ S.

FREDERICHUS MYCONIUS.

Illustri & Magnifico Domino Dno.

Thomæ Cromwello, domino privati sigilli, & domino observantissimo suo.

NUMBER XCVI.

Literarum oratorum Germaniæ brevis summa, Anglice.

THEIR JUDGMENT CONCERNING ABUSES.

Cleopatra,
E.5. p.209.

THEY excuse themselves, that they do again, by their letters now sent, disturb the kings majesty, being employed in the public cares of the kingdom: adding the cause why they write now: which is this. When after they had related what was given them in commandment, & that they had conferred of the

articles of the christian religion for two months with some bishops & doctors of divinity, appointed them by the kings majesty ; they doubt not but a firm & perpetual concord betwixt their princes & the kings majesty, & their bishops, divines & subjects, would follow, in the doctrin of the gospel, to the praise of God, & the ruine of the Roman antichrist.

And because they cannot stay for the rest of the p. 261.
disputation concerning *abuses*, before they depart they think it their duty to declare their sentence of some articles of *abuses* ; which after their departure the kings majesty may take care, that his bishops & divines confer together of. They say, the purity of doctrin cannot be conserved, unles those abuses be taken away, that fight with the word of God, & have produced & maintained the tyranny & idolatry of the Roman antichrist.

They assert three particular heads, which do uphold the foundation of the popish tyranny : namely, the prohibition of both kinds in the Lords supper ; private mas : & the forbidding the mariage of priests.

They begin first with the article *De utraq; specie*. They say, that the ordination of Christ is to be preserved before humane traditions. But he himself instituted both kinds, when he said, *Drink ye all of it*, &c. That it is like that men, conquered with the Roman popes thunders, changed the true use of the eucharist. Which now the German princes, that profess the doctrin of the gospel, have brought back, shaking off the popes yoke ; who, contrary to the command of Christ, contrary to the sentence of the holy fathers, contrary to the custome of the antient church, hath divided the sacrament, & deprived the laity of the bloud.

De privata missa. The mass is nothing else but a communion or *synaxis*, as S. Paul calleth it, nor was the use of it otherwise in the time of the apostles. But a certain diverse work repugning to a communion is thence made. Because they teach, that hereby grace is merited *ex opere operato*, as they

speak; & that the mass takes away the sins of the living & the dead.

Private masses have sustained the papacy, as a kind of Atlas. By masses the pope brought in indulgences. By which he hath robbed the world, & filled it with monks, to mumble these private masses. By which the pope hath extinguished the word of God.

The German princes have reduced the communion to the old wont: which they celebrate in the German language. And they appele for this to the testimony of those that were sent by the king into Germany, & saw al.

In this same epistle they lightly touched al that was written in many volumes concerning private masses, that the king might know upon what good reason they had abolished them, & that they might give answer to the calumnies of the adversaries.

De conjugio sacerdotum. The celebacy of priests, they say, the Roman bishop brought in against the scripture, against the law of nature, against al honesty. Concerning which Paul did foretel; saying, that the "Spirit manifestly spake, that in the last times some should depart from the faith, giving heed to spirits of error, & doctrines of devils, speaking lyes in hypocrisy, FORBIDING TO MARRY." This agrees to the Pope of Rome. That the German princes, when they saw many wickednesses to arise from this prohibition, broke the popes bonds, & permitted free matrimony to priests.

Of other abuses they are silent at present: as concerning *auricular confession*: wherby the pope hath reduced the power of the keys to a most filthy craft; & made *confession* a mere carnage of consciences: & by it held kings & princes under his girdle. And so, with some submissive conclusions to the king, desiring his answer, & praising him for his wisdom, & the progress he had made in religion, & exciting him to go yet on; they made an end.

NUMBER XCVII.

Certain bishops judgments concerning pilgrimages.

THE bodies of saints, &, namely, the relicks of ^{Cleopatra.} holy martyrs, are to be honoured most sincerely, as ^{E. 5.} the members of Christ. The churches builded in their names, deputed to the service of God, be to be gon unto with faithful & good devotion; & not to be contemned: and pilgrimage to places where Almighty God sheweth miracles, may be don by them that have therunto devotion.

Joh. Bath Wellens. Cuthbert Dunelmens.
Jo. London W. Abbas Sti. Bndicti.
Joh. Lincoln.

NUMBER XCVIII.

PURGATORIUM.

Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, his judgment therof.
With annotations in the margin of K. Henries
own hand.

“MODICUM plora super mortuum, quoniam re- ^{Cleopatra,} quievit.” Eccles. ca. XXII. As who say, thy brother ^{E. 5.} is dead. If natural passion move thee to weep, yet weep but little. For if he dyed in the faith of Christ repentantly, he is at rest. * *Ergo*, in no pain of purgatory. For where such pain is, there is no rest. For they that affirm purgatory, affirm the pain to pass al the pain in the world. Hugo de Vienna upon the same place, “Potius gaudendum est, inquit, quam flendum, quia quisquis sic moritur, de † labore ad requiem, de luctu ad gaudium transivit.” What rest

* *Ergo*, yet in a place. For of pain we dispute not.

† This Hugo speaketh, remembring no quietnes in this world, nor yet til we come to heaven, & not condemning of purgatory.

hath he gotten, that is removed from the stocks in Newgate to the rack in the Tower?

Eccles. II. "Ubicunq; lignum ceciderit, ibi erit." In what state a man dies, in that he shal continue without end; "Sive ad Austrum, sive ad Aquilonem:" either to heaven or to hel. "Non est medium, si Hieronymo credimus: et operæ pretium fuerit legere Pellicanum."

p. 263. Aug. super Ps. XXXI. Beati quorum tecta sunt peccata.* "Si textit peccata Deus, noluit advertere: si noluit advertere, noluit animadvertere. Si noluit animadvertere, noluit punire, &c. Ergo, peccata in hoc seculo oblecta, & remissa, non sunt in futuro punita. † Ergo, frustraneum est - - - Purgatorium.

Id. in de ebrietate. "Nemo se decipiat, fratres; duo enim loca sunt, & tertius non est visus. Qui cum Christo regnare non meruit, cum diabolo absq; ulla dubitatione peribit." Here he had occasion to make mention of purgatory, if he had then known it. ‡

Aug. de vanitate seculi. "Scitote verò quod cum anima a corpore avellitur, statim aut in paradiso, pro § meritis bonis collocatur; aut certè pro peccatis in inferni Tartara præcipitatur." Ecce! quam manifeste, quasi ex industria, absorpsit purgatorium?

Hieronym. in Eccles. II. "Ubicunq; ubi locum præparaveris, futuramq; sedem, sive ad austrum sive ad boream, ibi cum mortuus fueris permanebis." If

* Mark wel the very text of this.

† This argument is wel & - - plying more to carnal wytsway, than to playnnes of the text.

‡ Is this a sufficient confusion (confutation) of purgatory, because he here, speaking of drunkennes, doth not mention of purgatory?

§ Note, this text to make against you in another of your opinions; & also, that he rather putteth a mean place between heaven & hel, which he calleth *paradise*, (which) is a place of comfort toward salvation.

S. Hierom had regarded purgatory, there had been occasion to have made mention of it.*

Hilar. in Ps. 27. "Judicij dies vel beatitudinis retributio est æterna, vel pœnæ. † Tempus verò mortis habet interim unumquémq; suis legibus, dum ad judicium unumquémq; aut Abraam reservat, aut pœna." Quis hic non videt purgatorium fore nullum?

Cyprian. Sermone 4to. De mortalitate. "Amplectamur diem mortis qui assignat singulos domicilio suo: qui nos hinc ereptos, paradiso restituit, & regno cœlesti." Cyprianus non abstinuisset hic a mentione purgatorij, si tale quid vel cogitasset.‡

Chryso. in Jo. cap. Undec. Homilia 61. pag. 9. & b. "Justus moriens cum angelis evolabit, etiamsi nemo exequijs interveniat. Perditus autem, etsi in funere universam habuerit civitatem, nihil lucrabitur." Quid aptius dici possit in condemnationem purgatorij, quam quod eruditissimus hic dicit? §

Breviter multa sunt multorum authorum testimonia, quæ demoliuntur purgatorium. Multa etiam in ejusdem authoribus, quæ sonant esse purgatorium. Incertum est negotium, neq; tutum quicquam determinare, ne incerta pro veris statuuntur. Tametsi certissimum fuerit ejusmodi purgatorium, quale trecentos jam annos creditum fuerit, non possit stabiliri. At quod ad auctoritatem scriptorum attinet, sic Lyranus audet pronuntiare, "Non debet aliquem movere, quod ego recedo in hoc a dictis Hieronymi; quia

p. 264.

* *Must* the saints take occasion to write where you think place is for them, or where they think it meetest?

† Who ever held opinion, that in or after the day of judgment there was a purgation? This text maketh not against that opinion. Therefore nothing to your purpose.

‡ This your interpretation sheweth plainly mens affections. For it is evident in learning, that a copulative - - - - - not *eundem locum*. Wherefore the contrary is rather to be gathered on this text.

§ To this authority answereth this text of scripture, "Justo non est posita lex. Perdito nulla redemptio." So nother of these, wherof this text speaketh, belong to a sinner repentant. Wherefore purgatory may yet stond for all this.

dicta sanctorum non sunt tantæ authoritatis quin liceat sentire contrarium in his quæ non sunt per sacram scripturam determinata.*

Unde dicit Aug. in ep. ad Vincentium, de scripturis sanctorum doctorum: "Hoc genus scripturarum a canonicis scripturis distinguendum est. Non enim ex eis sic testimonia perferuntur, ut contrarium sentire non liceat. Hactenus Lyranus."

Et hoc est apud Hieronym. & reliquos authores vulgatissimos, quod quicquid citra scripturas asseritur, eadem facilitate rejicitur, qua admittitur.†

As touching purgatory, I might, by way of disputation, reason this against it. God is more enclined to mercy than to justice. He executeth justice upon these that be dampned, mercy upon these that be saved. But they that be dampned, as soon as the soul is separate from the body, goeth strait to hel. *Ergo*, if God be more enclined to mercy, them that be saved, as soon as the soul is out of the body, goeth by & by to heaven. Of these there is no purgatory? ‡

The founding of monasteries, argued purgatory to be: so the putting of them down, argueth it not to be. What uncharitablenes & cruellnes seemeth it to be to destroy monasteries, if purgatory be? Now it seemeth not convenient the act of parlament to preach one thing, and the pulpit another clean contrary.§

* Non solum suo sensu adhærente tamen.

† Hoc ergo sit intelligi debet, quod quicquid ecclesia receperit, id rejicere potuit; sed non quisquis sua sponte prædicando.

‡ This is a false argument, & also a wrong example. For God is as merciful & indifferent in this world to him that may be damned, as to him that may be saved: yet the obstinacy of the man lets not, wherby one may perceive that his justice & mercy dependeth on the wil of the creature, & as you, in a text before, alledge, the merits of the person.

§ Why then do you? "Turpe enim est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum."

NUMBER XCIX.

King Henry VIII. his confutation, writ by his own hand, of the sense of two places of scripture, alledged against purgatory, in the former writing.

Vbicúnq; lignum ceciderit, ibi erit. This text it self, speaking of but one stick, doth not deny purgatory; nor the example of a dead stick can wel, without great forcing of, be attribute to a soul repentant, not yet having his ful judgment. And if you wil turn it to a lively stick, then it seemeth me, that it wil make much against your purpose. For a lively stick may chance, with falling to grow, though not suddenly, & so come to some perfection of his fruits. So may the soul of man by this example, departing hence to purgatory in right faith, grow toward his perfection, abiding the day of judgment. Cleopatra, E. 5. p. 265.

Beati quorum, &c. Jesus! How do you descant on this Psalm, & also on S. Augustin, when you would make folk believe, that this was meant against purgatory, when the very text declareth nothing, but the beatitude & hopefulness of them that hath their sins hid & forgiven? Herein do you shew your carnal wit; which in preaching you dispraise so much.

NUMBER C.

Some short notes, drawn up by K. Henries own pen; concerning priests mariage.

Descriptio clerici è Græco secundum Jeronimum. Cleopatra, E. 5. p. 124. b.

Cleros Græcè, Latinè sors appellatur. Propterea cleri dicuntur, quia de sorte domini sunt, vel quia dominus sors clericorum est. At iste se talem exhibere (debet) ut possideat dominum, & ipse possideatur a domino, &c.

Descriptio sacerdotis. Est autem sacerdos is qui

Deo dicatus est ad sacrificia facienda; a quo sacerdotium ipsum sacerdotis munus, officium.

Descriptio voti. Est autem *votum* alicujus boni, cum deliberatione, Deo facta promissio.

Nota dictum Pauli ad Timotheum. “Nemo, militans Deo, impedit se negotijs secularibus; ut ei placeat, cui se præbuerit.”

Qui *presbyter* est, & probare & probari debet ante adeptum officium, etsi Deo dicatus sit. Quare non debet implicere (implicare) se negotijs sæcularibus. Denuo, matrimonium est negotium sæculare; ex quo scriptura prohibet presbyteris matrimonium inire. Quod approbat Chrysostomus scribendo ad Theodorum. Athanasius, Hieronymus.

De voto, & fide irrita.

De irreprehensibilitate.

“Unusquísq; ergo in quo vocatus est in hoc maneat apud Deum.”

“Solutus es ab uxore? Noli quærere uxorem.”

“Volo autem vos sine solitudine (solicitudine) esse.”

“N. episcopum irreprehensibilem esse oportere.”

NUMBER CI.

Philippus Melancthon ad Regem Henricum VIII.

Cleopatra,
E.5.p.239.

p. 266.

S. D. Serenissime & Inclyte Rex: Franciscus* noster rediens, cum heroicas virtutes tuas amplissimè prædicavit, tum vero etiam singularem erga me benevolentiam celsitudinis tuæ mihi exposuit: quam etsi antea celsitudo tua non obscuris signis declaravit, tamen gaudebam ab hoc, quem tanquam alterum me esse censeo, sermones mihi tuos amantissimos perferri. Itaq; cum de studijs nostris amanter sentias, reverenter me C. T. commendo. Simul autem commendo C. T. publicam causam christianæ religionis. Scit enim C. T. præcipuum hoc officium esse sum-

* Franciscus *nempe* Burgratus, Vicecancellarius Electoris Saxoniae orator.

morum principum, propagare & tueri cælestem doctrinam. Propter hoc muneris impertit eis Deus societatem nominis sui. Opto autem, ut antea sæpe scripsi, consensum piæ doctrinæ constitui in ijs ecclesijs omnibus, quæ Romani episcopi tyrannidem & impietatem damnat. Hic consensus gloriam Dei illustraret, & profuturus esset ad cæteros nationes invitandas, & retinendam tranquillitatem ecclesiarum. Jam fœliciter cæpit C. T. e medio tollere quasdam nefarias superstitiones. Quæso igitur ut reliquorum abusu emendationem suscipiat. Non obscurum est, quid moliantur adversarij, sed doctrinam quam profiteamur, nunquam oppriment. Eritq; Deus custos politiarum nostrarum & principum. Qui semper sic adfecti fuerunt, ut pacem mallent, etiam publica tranquillitatis causa. Sed tamen si hostes arma ceperint, non licet nostris deesse suo officio. Sæpe autem mihi venit in mentem inscriptionis nomismatum Regis Edvardi: in qua sunt hæc verba, *Jesus autem transibat per medium eorum*. Significavit enim haud dubiè rex sapiens, divinitus tegi gubernatores reipub. si justas causas defendant. Ac vero illud præcipuè est heroicum, pro ecclesia contra tyrannos arma gerere. Fertur Ajax interrogasse Achillem, quos labores omnium maximos & difficilimos sustinisset. Huic respondit Achilles, susceptos pro amicis. Cùmq; rursus Ajax interrogaret. Quos sustinuerit jucundissimos: respondit Achilles, eosdem. Significavit heroico viro, nihil esse jucundius, quam asperrimas res gerere pro communi salute; cùmq; quanquam ingentes sustinentem ærumnas, tamen ipsa virtute delectari. Tanta in illis magnitudo animi erat, etiam si non tenebant veram Dei notitiam. Quanto magis christianos principes decet pro ecclesia suscipere pericula & labores, cum sciant se divinitus ad hoc munus vocatus esse, & cælestia præmia pro his certaminibus proposita esse. Quare non desinam adhortari C. T. ut & recte consulere ecclesijs pergat, & resistendum esse tyrannidi & violentis adversariorum consilijs, statuatur. Bene &

foeliciter valeat Cels. T. die Martij 26. anno 1539.
Francofurti.

Regiæ majestati tuæ addictissimus,
PHILIPPUS MELANCTHON.

p. 267.

NUMBER CII.

Ph. Melancthon ad Regem Henricum.

Cleopatra,
E. 5.

S. D. Serenis. & Inclyte Rex. Etsi videor ineptus interpellator, tamen Francisco istuc proficiscenti dedi literas, non quod illi commendatione opus esse arbitrarer, præsertim publico nomine venienti, sed quod meum testimonium sui perpetui studij regiam M. T. adferre cupiebat. Adfirmo igitur Franciscum tuas laudes, cum in publicis concilijs, tum in privatis congressibus, magna fide & constantia, prædicare solere easque; sententias, quæ ad ornandam tuendamque; dignitatem tuam pertinent, magna cura adjuvare. Hæc verè a me scribi testes esse possunt multi gravissimi viri. Quæ quidem significanda esse duxi regiæ M. T. quia ijs, qui præsumt reip. prodest nosse voluntates hominum non simulatas. Est autem Franciscus, cum in omni vita amans veritatis, tum vero in dicenda sententia maxime rectus & ingenuus. Porro inter laudes regis Ptolomei, hanc quoque; poeta Theocritus recenset: quod veros amicos a fucatis discernere solitus sit. Complectetur ergo R. M. T. Franciscum, ita ut statuatur eum ex animo optime velle regiæ majestati tuæ.

Negotia quæ adfert pertinent ad communem salutem ecclesiæ, & ad conservationem piæ doctrinæ. Nec vero alia ulla causa honestior incidere potest, quæ dignior sit regia propugnatione, quàm piæ doctrinæ defensio. Quare, oro, ne ei desit R. M. T. Erit & ad cætera consilia opportunius, si citò istic res confectæ erunt. Hæc ut scriberem ad R. M. T. non impudentiâ, sed quadam officij ratione, & singulari observantiâ regiæ M. T. adductus sum. Quæ

ut boni consulat, oro. Deus servet R. M. T. incolumem & florentem. X Aprilis, 1539.

Regiæ M. T. addictissimus,
PHILIPPUS MELANCTHON.

NUMBER CIII.

The Duke of Saxony, & Landgrave of Hesse, to the king; concerning those matters which Christopher Mount & Thomas Panel, the kings messengers, related to them by the kings command.

The answer of John Frederic, by the benefit of God, Duke of Saxony, Elector of the Sacred Roman Empire, & of Philip, by the divine benefit, Landgrave of Hesse, Earl of the Hassians, &c. to those matters which Christopher Mount & Thomas Panel, agents of K. Henry VIII. our friend & most dear cousin, expounded to us by the said King of Englands commandment.

p. 263.

By your oration, we understand first, the singular & exceeding good will of the most serene King of England towards us. Which was most welcome to us both upon our own private account, & because of the public benefit of the church. For it is very convenient, that kings should, together with us, take on them the common care of reforming the churches, & advancing the glory of Christ.

Cleopatra,
E. 6. p. 285.

We pray therefore, that ye signify to the k. m. in our name, & present to him our services with the greatest observance.

Next, in relating the cause why ye were sent unto us, namely, a report caried of the *pacification*: wherfore the king was concerned to enquire concerning the conditions of the peace; whether we were about to make some alterations in the doctrine & rites of our churches, & would yield some things to the Bishop of Rome: specially, when the em-

peror was reported to have said, that he hoped the German princes would not decline his authority in the cause of religion?

Altho we doubt not, many of our adversaries have divers wayes attempted to alienate the minds of the most serene King of England from us in the common cause of the church: yet when we have so often signified to him by his ambassadors & orators, & lastly by our own, that we, by the grace of God, would be constant in so great a cause, as became christians & princes, & would never cast off the pure & catholic doctrin of the gospel, which we profess, nor receive the tyranny, nor rites of the Bishop of Rome: we wonder whence this doubt of us should arise in the mind of the most serene king: & we very much desire, that the most serene king would, in things that concern our selves, sooner believe us, than our adversaries.

For altho we alwayes valued peace, as becometh princes that love their country; & we have often defended it with our armes, together with other princes of Germany, with whom we have been joyned by so many bonds of kindred & covenants: & that we ought to reverence the emperor, & we have obeyed him in the common weal, & in those causes which pertain to the empire; yet this was alwayes resolved by us to retain the profession of the truth, & not to reproch the gospel of Christ, since he teacheth, that this worship of God is necessary, & the chiefest of al things, saying, "He that shal confes me before men, him wil I confes before my heavenly Father."

Hitherto, such hath been the moderation of the emperor, that altho' the faction of the Bishop of Rome hath often endeavoured to incite him to take up war against us, yet he would not be the minister of anothers cruelty. Therefore both our duties do as yet appear towards the emperor; & we have alwayes taken care, that it might appear, that we love the common peace & tranquillity, & desire to de-

fend it. Of which there are many illustrious testimonies.

Nor are we ignorant, the commonwealth being once moved, cannot easily be allayed again. Wherefore we have hitherto dissembled many injuries brought upon us by our adversaries. And altho we have been with great grief beholders of parricides, which the adversaries every where commit; who most unjustly put to death pious men & Christs members, & exercise a greater cruelty, than that of Nero, & the rest after him, was at Rome: yet we have been quiet, nor thought convenient to take up armes. Nevertheles neither fear nor favour of any one draweth us away from the pure doctrin of the gospel, which we profess, since we know it is the true doctrin of Christ, which the catholic & apostolic church delivered. In this opinion, by the grace of God, we have wholly determined to persist: & we beseech God to confirm us, & to over-rule dangers. For he is the defender and governour of his church.

When our ambassadors were returned out of England, they related, among other things, how the same thing was objected to them, that doubt was made of our constancy. But tho we hoped they answered gravely, as they rehearsed to us; yet these things we now repeat, that a testimony might remain with the king, signed by us: that he might not doubt of our constancy.

That, after the return of our ambassadors, we wrot not back presently, happened upon this account; because in the very juncture of their coming home, some of our enemies did practise against us a civil war, & a wicked robbery. We therefore deferred our answer, being taken up in the care of repressing it. Nor could we write any thing of the pacification, which happened suddenly, & was uncertain; & we heard of no conditions.

But the declaration of our ambassadors was full of the praises of his serene majesty, & shewed ample hope of the amendment of the churches. They men-

tioned many illustrious significations of the serene kings good wil towards us, & his mervellous kindnes towards ours. But especially they declared his wil for the restoring of the purity of doctrin in the churches, & abolishing abuses.

In answer to this, we thank the most serene king, that he hath such a loving sense of us, & so graciously embraceth ours. And we exhort him as much as we can, that he go on to consult for the churches, & to restore the true worship for the glory of Christs sake. For he understandeth, according to his wisdom, that this duty is chiefly incumbent upon kings: & having thrust down the Roman antichrist, the author & patron of error, he sheweth that he wil correct the impieties that arose, or was confirmed by the Bishop of Rome. And he hath begun that amendment. He hath set over some of the churches learned & godly teachers: who may recal the people to the acknowledgment of Christ, to true invocation, & the duties that are acceptable to God; exploding the superstitions. He hath overthrown some images & idols, which the people impiously worshiped.

p. 270. And tho many, both bishops & kings, ignorant of true religion, judge otherwise of these deeds; yet godly men know they have more of true praise, than the most celebrated triumphs. As by the voice of the prophets, King Josaphat, & other good princes were not less spoke of for their taking away idols, than for their famous victories, which God gave them; invited so to do by this their piety, that they abolished fanatical & monstrous superstitions.

Lastly, we hear, that the most serene king, in his late proclamation, did promise his people the emendation of the rest of the ecclesiastical abuses. Wherefore we gratulate this mind to him & his christian state; & exhort him, as much as we may, being of his own accord incited, that he look upon the churches layd waste by false doctrin, for the avarice & ambition of the Roman bishops, & revive them; & brighten again religion, now almost wholly razed

& extinguished. And so he shal effect a perfect deliverance of the churches from the tyranny of the Bishops of Rome, if by his own authority he take away impious rites, raised & established by the said Bishop of Rome. This we think convenient to mention; not that we doubt of the wil of the most serene king, but because we fear ever, that there be there some bishops much addicted to the inveterate opinions of the Bishops of Rome: whose morosity is an impediment to this consulting for the churches. And by their sentence we think it came to pas, that to that proclamation was added a somewhat hard confirmation of certain vitious or unprofitable rites: which yet, we hope, the most serene king wil mitigate: for we understand that many things were put into that proclamation, which indeed do not agree with those articles, which our men have conferred with the bishops & divines of the kings majesty about; & which, in our judgments, do not vary from the right doctrine of religion. For vitious *traditions* offend the light of the gospel. And this asperity deterreth the weak from the purer doctrin: it proposeth other worship than is delivered by God, & taketh away authority from the rest.

Augustin complaineth, that *traditions* did so encrease in his time, that now the service of the church was harder than that of the Jews. How much sadder wil the service be, if vitious constitutions be armed with corporal punishments; whence a bitter time would ensue towards the good & godly: from which we hope the wil of the most serene king doth abhor. Wherefore for the glory of Christ, & that godly men may be spared, we wish the churches to be constituted according to the rule of the gospel: which, if it were, our agreement would be good & beneficial for the universal church; & the example would invite other nations.

Concerning an embassy, in which the kings majesty desireth, that some excellently learned men might be

sent to him, for a further disputation ; it cannot now be resolved, for such causes especially, as we have partly signified to the king, & partly have understood by the very circumstances of the times. And let the king take this in good part. We judge the opinion of our men is sufficiently known to the serene king, & the learned in England, as wel by our confession, as by those disputations, which the ambassador of the most serene king three years ago,* & lately the English bishops, had with our men, sent thither.

* Anno
1536.

p. 271.

Nor let the most serene king think, that we wil cast off the opinion, which hitherto we have defended, nor wil we suffer, that any of ours should become approvers of a contrary sentence.

And we understand there, that our articles of the *mas*, of the use of the *whole sacrament* of the Lords Supper, & of the *celibate*, be stil called into question: wherby how much danger we sustain sufficiently appeareth: which indeed we should not draw upon our selues, did we not understand that what we profess is commanded by God: nor are the things obscure of themselves.

Of the *supper* of the Lord the appointment of Christ, is wel known: which hath endured many ages in the church. Afterward another new custome was received by the negligence of the bishops, & confirmed by the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome.

And the command of wedlock is extant: & the law concerning the *celebacy* is exasperated by the Bishop of Rome, against the antient authority. There be extant clear testimonies of antient writers, which shew, there were no private *masses* for some ages, when religion was more pure. And alwayes some were admitted in the service of the church to communicate in the sacrament. That custom agreeing with the ordinance of Christ, is a weighty & firm testimony of our opinion.

Since therfore God would have the worship observed or retained, which was instituted with his

command, we have judged this custom instituted in the church, & in the purer church observed, to be necessarily embraced.

These things we have repeated, that the king might not think we doubt of our opinion, or wil grant, that our men should approve of any thing contrary. And we wish, that our Lord Jesus Christ govern the breast & counsils of the most serene king, to the common welfare of the church, & to protect & keep him.

Concerning the *pacification* here treated of, & of the articles, which were explained to us by the kings ambassadors, when we heare them the second time, we shal signify our opinion by those we now send to him. And these things we thought good to serve for answer to the king. And we present our duties with the highest deference: & we most diligently commend our selves to him, as our most dear cozin & lord. Dated at Frankford, the 4 April an. dom. MDXXXIX.

NUMBER CIV.

The Lord Crumwel to the king; upon the coming of some ambassadors from the protestant princes of Germany.

PLEASITH it your most noble majesty, after my very bounden duty right honorably remembred with most hearty & effectuous thanks for your gracious benignity extended upon me infinite wayes; & now in special for your facil acceptation of mine absence, & comfortable gracious words; to understand, that yesterday about noon arrived to me hither your majesties servants, Mr. Christopher Mount & Mr. Paynel: and shewed unto me, that the Duke of Saxony hath sent hither to your highnes his vice-chancellor, Burgart; & the Landisgrave, a gentleman of his good experience, that can speak sundry languages, & hath been oftentimes sent to sundry princes in message, as he is now to your grace.

Cleopatra,
E.5.p 172.

p. 272.

At their departure from Frankford, the assembly was not as yet dissolved, nor full conclusion taken thereupon: albeit some thought that it would come to the point of an abstinence of any molestation on both parties for 18 months, or so. The said Burgart & his Collega, with four other persons in their company, arrived hither also yesterday; & were brought by the said Christopher to Jenyngs, sergeant to your graces pastory house: there to remain for such time, til they may be otherwise better provided of better lodging. I have not as yet, for mine indisposition, spoken to them. But by your graces servant I can perceive, that the landgrave & duke also do continue stil in their loving & friendly observation towards your majesty, very joyous of your graces alliance & confederation, if it shal please your highnes to enter with them. And so concerning the same point, their orators be sent hither at this time. But what their instructions do bear, your graces servants be not made privy of: howbeit they think, that they wol require concord in doctrin, & mutual help of defence, in case of invasion, with indifferent conditions of reciproque.

And as for the first point, the said landgrave grieveth to find that part of your graces proclamation somewhat strange: wherin thus it is spoken *de conjugio sacerdotum*: saying, that the same was against the true doctrin of the *Votes*, which they professed. And hereupon also Melancthon hath written unto me, that he hath seen that proclamation, wherin certain evil doctrins be forbidden, & also certain true doctrins, which they profess in *Alemayn de votis* & *de conjugio*: but that he hoped, for as much in the said proclamation your highnes promiseth to abolish abuses, that your gr. shal consider the same more exactly, & at the last mitigate the same.

They have, as Mr. Christopher saith, been earnestly in hand with him for the same point: who answered, that altho he knew not your graces considerations in that behalf, yet he might wel affirm, that your

highnes is not so scrupulous in the matter *de votis*; & that sundry *nuns* & religious women have been discharged out of their houses with honest pensions, during their lives, & not forbidden, but suffred to mary. But as for *priests*, he thinketh the cause of the prohibition was, because they might preach the word of God: & that it was thought the common people, as yet weak in the knowledge of the word, & of other things, might therby conceive an opinion of concupiscence in them; & by reason therof condemn their preaching, & the word of God. But what your gr. would do afterward, when the people shal wax strong, & able to eat solid meat, he answered, he could not define, nor judg: but that he doubted not, but your gr. did nothing without good cause & reason, & with great consideration. With the which answer the said landgrave, & others, were marvelously satisfied. So that, as it is to be thought, they wol not much stick to that point. P. 273.

Melancthon further writeth unto me his opinion of your graces bishops by these words: “Multi ubiq; hoc tempore astutè cogitatis interpretationibus excusant abusum, aut leniunt: ut arte stabiliant eos: sicut fit in libro, *Coloniæ edito*, cui titulus est *Enchiridion*. Hanc sophisticam perniciosam ecclesiæ video imitari mitratos apud vos. Sed cavendum est, ne hac sophistica rursus obruatur veritas. Nam ad tranquillitatem durabilem etiam simplex veritas utilior est.” This is the effect of Melancthons letter to me.

The Duke of Saxon, concerning the mariage of your graces person, hath exhorted the Duke of Cleves to go through without any difficulty. But as yet his counsel is not returned from Frankford. And they trust shortly to meet together: at which time the matter shal be resolved for their part.

The duke & landgrave do much desire the expedition of their orators, & that they may be not long detained here. For they need to employ them also about other affaires. Wherefore I would be glad to know your graces pleasure & determination about their audience or acces to your highnes.

I understand by your said servants, that the league *evangelick* is always stedfast & constantly set to byde in their opinion; yea, & rather to dy than relent: & that they look that shortly the one part must have the upper hand, or the other: for they think *antichrist* & the devil wol not sleep, but ever practise to overcome the *evangelick* sort, which is now strong. And the things be so far gone, that either the *evangelicks* must destroy the papists, or else the papists them. As we trust it shal no more be in their power, than it is in the devils power to overcome Christ, the very protector of the gospel. I am assured these orators coming shal be very formidable to the Bishop of Rome, & to others of his adherents also. For doubtles, if your majesty shal happen to joyn with them, the papists in my judgment shal be half in dispair. Christopher hath confirmed the same, that he wrot afore, that the emperor above al things desired of them, that they should receive none other persons in that league; & that therupon hath been in their diet the great striking at: as I am assured your graces said servants may declare unto your highnes. And also, how they have seen the fleet returned to Zealand, & that al the ships shal be dismiss, & his artillery discharged, & layd a land.

p. 274.

I am sory that I am not in the case, that I might attend to do service to your majesty, as my duty & desire is. This night I have had ill rest. This is the day of the access of my fit. If I can escape it, I hope to be soon recovered: if it shal continue, then yet I wil do my best to overcome it the soonest I can: for I think the time very long, til I be better able to serve your majesty: whose honor & prosperity to encrease, I beseech Almighty God, with continuance of health & long life. From London this xxiiij April.

Your majesties most humble & obedient

Subject & servant,

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

NUMBER CV.

Erasmus Sarcerius ad Regem Henricum.

GRATIAM & pacem a domino nostro Jesu Christo. Cott. Libr.
 Serenissime rex, cum paucis abhinc diebus, jussu illustris principis Gulielmi Nasoviensis, domini mei clementissimi, Francofordiæ venissem; reperi ibidem apud dominum Philippum Melanthonem, tuæ serenitatis legatos, viros & doctrina & morum integritate spectabiles: qui cum inter cætera audirent nomen meum, quæsierunt num ego essem Erasmus ille Sarcerius, qui *methodum* in præcipuos scripturæ locos edidisset. Respondi me illum esse. Quare statim occæperunt mihi significare, meam *methodum*, serenitatis tuæ mandato, in linguam Anglicam esse versam, & jam Anglicè loqui. Præterea addiderunt, ut si vellem serenitati tuæ scribere, se curaturos, quo literæ meæ ad tuam serenitatem deferrentur. Ego quanquam diu annuere noluerim admonitioni, quippe meo pede metiens me; hoc est, considerans & imperitiam meam, & imparis eruditionis vires, quibus possem tuæ serenitati satisfacere, quæ tanto ingenio est prædita, ut illo nihil neq; acutius neq; sublimius sit, cum in sapiendo, tum in judicando: tamen audita tandem tuæ serenitatis clementia in omnes studiosos, & sinceræ religionis amatores, scribere cœpi in doctis meis scriptis, tuæ serenitati humiliter me commendans: cui si videro mea placere, porro curabo, ut T. S. brevi locos meos communes methodice congestos, auctiores accipiat, additis simul pluribus locis, & maxime vitiorum vocabulis, quibus (quorum) scriptura mentionem facit. Et quia in S. T. regnis vera religio jam plantatur, idcirco pro gloria Dei, & utilitate hominum, mittam & postillam in evangelia dominicalia, & festivalia; item in epistolas dominicales, & festivales, tuæ s. in scriptam. Deus servet regiam t. m. ad evangelij gloriam & pacem ecclesiæ salvam ac incolumem. Francofordiæ, 10 Martij, anno 1539.

ERASMUS SARCE RIUS.

T. S. A.

p. 275.

NUMBER CVI.

*Places appointed for the new-intended Bishops Seats.
Being al of K. Henries own hand-writing.*

	Counties.	Bishopricks to be made.
Cleopatra, E. 4. p. 304. b.	Essex,	Waltham.
	Hertford,	Saynt Albony's.
	Bedfordshire,	Dunstable.
	Buckynghamshire,	Newenham, Elveststone.
	Oxford & Barkshire,	Osnay & Tame.
	Northampton & Huntynge.	Peterburrow.
	Mydelsex,	Westminster,
	Lecestre & Rowtland,	Leycester.
	Glocestershire,	Saynt Peters.
	Lancaster,	{ Fontayne, & Tharchdea- conry of Rychemond.
	Suffolk,	
	Stafford & Salop,	Bury.
	Stafford & Salop,	Shrewsbury.
	Nottingham & Darby,	{ Welbec, Worsop, & Thur- garton.
	Cornwal,	
	Cornwal,	{ Lancelton, Bedmynne, with another.

Placys to be alteryd according to our devise, which have sees
in them.

Chryst Chyrche, in Can- terbury.	Elye.	Durhame.
Saynt Swytynny's (in Win- chester.)	Rochester, with a part of Lydes.	Worcester.

And al other having the same.

Placys to be alteryd in Colleges & Scolles.

Worly.

Burton upon Trent.

So they stand in the kings MS. according to the
placing & spelling: not so correct in the transcript
thereof, in the Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. I.
p. 262.

NUMBER CVII.

p. 276.

A Table drawn up, in order to the founding new Deanries & Colleges in divers places: with the endowments of the Bishops of the respective sees.

Al under this colume is added by the kings hand: being persons by him no- minated.	Decanatus & Collegia.	Valor.	Unde pro- portione Episcopi.	
HILBY (Thirlby Westminster, . . . perhaps) . . . Winchester, . . . Worcester,	2859 16 0 ob. 1411 16 10 1265 19 11 ob.	804 0 0	Ubi supra.
Quondam Abbas, Peterborough cum portione pro episcopo,	1189 9 10 ob.	333 6 8	
Quondam Tewokebury, . . . Gloucester. cum portione epis- copi, Durham, : . . . Thorneton Colle- gium, Burton Collegium Chrystchurche,	1074 5 5 ob. 1739 5 4 561 15 5 508 15 8 2582 3 11 ob.	333 6 8	
Doctor Heth, . . . Rochester cum Ledes, Carlehyll,	800 5 1 653 4 10 ob.		
Quondam Abbas, Oseney cum Tame, Ely,	1158 0 7 1015 1 5 ob.	333 6 8	
Suffragan de Gys- born, Robt. Purseglove, . . . Chester, Dr. Day, . . . Dunstable, Wylson, . . . Colchester, Henrico Manwell, Paulo Bushe, . . . Saynt Austyns in Bristow,	1216 3 7 ob. 1140 17 3 1003 0 5 1003 0 5 1003 0 5	333 6 8 333 6 8 333 6 8 333 6 8 333 6 8	
John Bouchier, of Leycester, quon- dam abbas, . . . Shrewsbury, Dr. Tresham, . . . Bodmyn cum Lanceston, Dr. Cocks, . . . Southwel (in Not- tinghamshire) in loco Fountayne,	1003 0 5 1003 0 5 1003 0 5 1003 0 5	333 6 8 333 6 8 333 6 8 333 6 8	

hath the Bishop of Rome in his dominions, & al the princes of Italy & Germany. And if every one of them severally hath within their own dominions like power, much more when the legates of al these princes, & divers nations meeting together at a general council, may determine things to be institute of God in his h. scripture, by scriptures wrong understood. As for example these things following hath been so determined, yet untrue :

I. *Episcopus Romanus est jure divino caput universalis ecclesiæ : juxta illud. Tu es Petrus, &c. Quodcunq; solveritis super terram, &c. Pasce oves meas, &c.* And such things may in like maner be also now determined, as is

II. *Episcopus Romanus est rex regum & Dominus universæ terræ jure divino, juxta illud, regnum ipsis omnibus dominabitur, &c. Data est mihi omnis potestas in cœlo & in terra.* These men that write thus allege scripture.

III. *Vota monachorum non sunt rescindenda, quia jure divino unusquisq; tenetur votum suum præstare, juxta illud, vovete & reddite : ut item, Habentes damnationem, quia primam fidem irritam fecerunt.* If men believe doctors & wrong-taken scriptures in al things found in writers, these aforesaid scriptures wrong understood : if doctors shal establish these three old abuses to be *jure divino*, as wel as the parliament in this realm shal establish these three things bruted abroad, now to be authorized *jure divino*, (great may the danger hereof be.) And know not what the importunity of some men meaneth, to provoke the kings majesty to decree these matters in this maner, except it were to enforce his grace to allow, by this sly & craft, al things that shal be decreed by the emperor, & the Bishop of Rome, in their *general council*, as they call it; & so compel himself unawares finally, to undoe al that his grace hath done heretofore against the Bishop of Rome, monks & friars, &c.

It is, in my simple opinion, the most perillous enterprize (al reasoning in learning of h. scripture, &

love of Christs religion, layd apart) & most dangerous thing to the kings grace & this realm, & the worst example that can be imagined given to the Bishop of Rome, to determine any thing in this realm to be Gods wil, & to establish any thing therin, for any article of our faith, without the expres witnes of h. scripture, as his grace & his realm standeth. For as his grace wil have every man to conceive a true good opinion of his proceedings; so the Bishop of Rome, the emperor, & other princes, wil look for the same at his graces hand of their proceedings. Therefore what peril & danger there is further to be feared in such decrees more than I have, or can here express, I leave to wise men to consider. p. 279.

I may peradventure fear, by lack of wit, that is not to be feared; & cast upon such things as are not like to come to pas. And I am contented so to be reported, of you that love me, for a fool: nevertheles the love towards my prince & my country moveth me to write as I do, & to fear that I fear. And your accustomed friendship causeth me to utter my foolish fantasy without fear. Trusting, that if this seem to you foolishnes, you wil not, of hatred, blow my foolishnes abroad, but friendly bear it, as you have don other my boldnes. From Windesor, this Wednesday.

Your own,

S. HEYNES.

NUMBER CIX.

A Book of Ceremonies.

Points touched in this book concerning ceremonies.

CHURCHES & church-yards, the hallowing & reconciling them. Cleopatra,
E.5. p.259.

The ceremonies about the sacrament of baptism.

Ordering of the ministers of the church in general.

Divine service to be said & sung in the church.

Mattins, prime, & hours.

Ceremonies used in the mass.

Sundays, with other feasts.

Bellys. (Bells.)

Vesture & tonsure of the ministers of the church,
& what service they be bound unto.

Bearing candles upon Candlemas-day.

Feasting days.

The giving of ashes.

The covering of the cross, & images in Lent.

Bearing of palmes.

The service of Wednesday, Thursday, Friday before Easter.

The hallowing of oyl & chrysm.

The washing of the altars.

p. 230. The hallowing of the font upon Saturday in the Easter even.

The ceremonies of the resurrection in Easter morning.

General & other particular processions.

Benedictions of bishops or priests.

Holy water & holy bread.

A general doctrin, to what intent ceremonies be ordained, & of what value they be of.

Ceremonies to be used in the Church of England.

Though it be very truth, that there is a great difference betwixt the commandments, & works expressed by scripture, necessary for a christian mans life & salvation, & rites & ceremonies devised by men: because the works contained in scripture are the expresse commandments of God; which may not be infringed, taken away, or changed by any men; & the other said rites & ceremonies are appointed & ordained by men: which, upon causes reasonable, may, from time to time, by governors & men of authority, be altered & changed: yet soche ordenances, rites, & ceremonies, devised by soche as are in authority, for a decent order, quietnes, & tranquillity, ought (al abuses & superstruitions therby taken away) to be

with al reverend obedience observed by the people, not as works & workers for their salvation, but as a godly policy, & ordinances made & devised by christian governors; to the intent, as S. Paul saith, 1 Cor. 14. that things should be don & used among the christian congregation with an honest reverence & a decent order. And therefore, to the end that this Church of England may be comely & quietly ordered, & wel instructed, it is thought meet & convenient, that the orders & ceremonies, & rites following, should be in the church honestly, obediently, & reverently kept & observed.

The church.

And first of al, to have a common house for christian people, which we call the Church, is very necessary, that there they may come together; wheras the word of God is preached, the sacraments are ministred, & prayers, as wel of the people as the ministers, to Almighty God are made, both for them that be alive, & also for them that be departed in the faith of Christ. Wherefore it is convenient that place & the altars there to be sanctified, washed, & prepared with prayers.

Sanctified; that is to say, *separated* from al profane uses, & *dedicated* to the end before rehersed. And therefore no christian person should abuse the same, either with eating, drinking, buying, selling, playing, danceing, diceing, or with any other profane & worldly matter. For al sobernes, quietnes, & godlines, ought there to be used.

Washed; to admonish al christen people to wash p. 281.
inwardly their own hearts & consciences; which be the living temples of God, before they shal approch to the use of any holy mystery there.

Prepared with prayers; that the sacraments, there ministred, may be acceptable to Almighty God: & that it may please him to hear the humble & devout prayers of the people there; & that al things there

don & heard by them, may be to commodity & wealth of their souls.

The churchyard.

And albeit that a glorious sepulture is not profitable to the wicked man ; & a vile sepulture hurteth not the good man ; yet to put us in remembrance of death, that we may leave sin & wickednes, & to testify our faith & hope of the resurrection of our bodies again : therfore it is convenient, that the churchyard, for a place of common burial for christian people, should be sanctified & hallowed. And if it chance the same to be polluted, we think it meet to be reconciled again. And the sepultures of christian men with good & godly prayer now used, & other ceremonies belonging unto the same, are very laudable & convenient.

The rites & ceremonies observed about the sacrament of baptism.

First, the catechism which goeth before the baptism : and it is as much to say as a *teaching* & an *instruction*. For in the primitive church, when many came to the christian faith, at the year of age & discretion, it was used that such, before they were admitted to baptism should be taught the articles of the faith, & the sum of christian religion, & should promptly & readily render the same to their pastors or curats. Which were yet to be used, if that any soch would desire to receive baptism. But in baptism of infants, which for lack of age cannot be instructed, the priest shortly expresseth there soch instructions ; & then chargeth the godfathers & godmothers further to teach the child or children, when they come to lawful age : & then beginneth to make a cros upon the forehead of the child, that is offered to be baptized ; entokening, that he is comen to be professed, & totally to be dedicated to Christ cru-

cified; whom he wil never be ashamed openly before men to confes & knowledge.

Then he maketh another cros upon the breast, from whence cometh the belief; signifying, that it is not enough to confes Christ with mouth openly, unles he doth stedfastly believe in heart inwardly. And therefore the minister calleth Almighty God to take away the blindness of his heart, & to make him apt to receive grace given in baptism.

And then he putteth hallowed salt into his mouth, to signify the spiritual salt, which is the word of God, wherwith he should be seasoned & powdered; that therby the filthy savour of stinking sin should be taken away; preserving him from corruption, & making him a more apt vessel to continue in the moisture of wholesome & godly wisdom. And therefore the minister prayeth, that he may be replenished with heavenly food, & that he, receiving this grace of baptism, may obtain everlasting reward.

p. 282.

Then the minister maketh a sign of the cros in the childs forehead; adjuring the devil to depart, & no more to approach to him, but to knowledg his sentence of damnation, & to give glory unto God, & to Jesus Christ, which triumphed upon the cros over him in his own person: praying that this child, now purged from the wicked spirit, may be the sanctified temple of the H. Ghost.

After this, is read the gospel, taken out of Matthew, 19th chapter; beginning *Oblati sunt Jesu pueri*, &c. Wherin is shewed, that the oblation of young children is acceptable to Christ. Of whose church, without baptism, they cannot be made members. Wherefore the people, according to this example, offereth their children to the minister to be baptized.

Then the minister wetteth with spittle the nose-thurles & ears of him that shal be baptized: putting us in remembrance of the miracle of the deaf & dumb wrought by Christ, who looking up into heaven, putteth his spittle with his fingers to his ears, & touch-

ing his tongue, saith, *Ephatha*, that is to say, *Be opened*. And so he healed him: signifying thereby the grace & godly influence descending from heaven, which, by the operation of the H. Ghost, openeth our nose to take the sweet savour, & savour of the knowledg of Christ; & our ears to hear his word & commandments.

Then the minister exhorteth the godfathers & godmothers, with al others that are present, to pray to God, that the child may worthily receive the blessed sacrament of baptism, to the honor of God, to the salvation of his soul, & confusion of our ghostly enemy, the devil: & so the minister & al they together say, *Pater noster*.

Then immediately the minister maketh the sign of the cros in the right hand of the infant. Which cross should, in al our life time, admonish us valiantly to defend Christ, & withstand the crafty assaults of our enemy the devil, & al our corrupt & perverse affections & desires. And so blessing the child in the name of the father, the Son & the H. Ghost, taketh it by the right hand, & biddeth it enter into the church, there to be admitted as one of Christs flock & congregation, & so procedeth to the font.

And there entring towards the baptism, first inquisition is made of the name of him that should be baptized, to the intent that by giving in his name, he may now profess himself to a new master, Christ. For of a custom such professions were made by such inscriptions, & giving in of their names.

Then there followeth a stipulation made under prescript words: the minister demanding certain questions, & he that is baptized, or his sureties making answer to any questions or demands particularly.

The words
within
these two
marks ||
are added
in the mar-
gin by Bi-
shop Gar-
diners own
hand.

|| Which demands, questions & answers (to the intent the godfathers & godmothers, with others there present, may know what is a christen mans profession at his baptism) we think it very convenient & meet to be uttered hereafter in the English tongue. || And first to this interrogation of the minister :

The minister saith, Forsakest thou the devil? He, p. 283.
or his sureties for him, answereth, I forsake him.
The minister saith, And al his works? It is answered, I forsake them. The minister saith, And al his pomps & vanities? The answer is, I forsake them.

After this the minister with holy oyl anointeth the child before upon his breast, & behind between his shoulders. Which unction upon the breast signifyeth, that our hearts & affections should be wholly dedicated to Christ & established in a perfect faith in his mercy; which the oyl doth commonly signify in scripture. And the anointing between the shoulders with the sign of the cross, signifieth, that we should be bold & strong to bear the yoke of our Lord; & particularly to sustain soch cros of persecution, trouble & affliction, as our most merciful Lord shal lay upon us.

Then further the minister maketh inquisition of his belief, that is to be christned, saying, Believest thou in God, the Almighty Father, maker of heaven & earth? It is answered, I believe. The minister saith, Believest thou in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord? &c. The answer is made, I believe. The minister saith, Believest thou in the H. Ghost, the holy catholick church, the communion of saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body, & after death to have everlasting life? It is answered, I believe. Al which promise & profession of renouncing the old errors, & believing & embracing the truth, made in baptism, every christen man ought to have in his often remembrance.

And after this the minister saith unto him that is to be baptized these words, What asketh thou? It is answered, Baptism. The minister demaundeth further, Wilt thou be baptised? It is answered, I wil. For there is no man saved against his wil, but willingly. For as man by his own freewil obeying the serpent did perish; so when God calleth by grace, by the conversion of his own mind every man

truly believing, & intending to work, accordingly is saved.

Then the minister calleth the child by the name, & baptizeth it in the name of the Father, & the Son, & of the H. Ghost; putting it into the water of the font, & taking it out again. Or else pouring water upon the infant. Wherby the person christened hath not only remission of al his sins by the operation of the H. Ghost; but also by the same is signified the death & resurrection of Christ, the only cause of our health & salvation. And moreover, that we should dayly mortify our evil desires & corrupt affections, & so washed from sin, walk in a new, pure, & godly life & conversation.

Then after this baptism, he is anointed with holy chrism on the head, as the supreme & principal part of man. Signifying therby, that he is made a christen man by the hede of the congregation, & that he is anointed with the spiritual unction of the H. Ghost; that by his assistance & grace he may obtain everlasting life.

Then he that is baptised is clothed in a white vesture, in token of his manumission & freedome from his former captivity of the devil. And it signifieth also a christen purity & innocence, which, after the washing away of the spots of his old sins, he ought studiously to conserve & keep, & so to come to the presence of Christ at the day of judgment, & remain with him in glory everlasting.

p. 284. Finally, The minister putteth a candle light in the right hand of him that is baptized, in token that he should, through al his life time, shew before al men a light of good example & godly works: that he may be alwayes in a readines with the saints, to meet our Lord, & receive the fruition of everlasting joy.

Ministers.

The ceremonies, observances & prayers, said & don in the consecrations of bishops, & giving orders

to priests, & deacons, subdeacons, & other inferior ministers, as heretofore hath been accustomed, & as it was devised in the books called *Pontificalls*, (al maner of things concerning the pretended & usurped power of the Bishop of Rome abolished, & utterly put aside, & the kings most right & true supremacy, with al things in the same in any wise appertaining & belonging, always observed & obeyed) be very laudable & expedient to be used. For by these ceremonies & observances, every man in his order, state, & degree, is admonished what appertaineth to their offices. And the prayers be made to God, that they truly, sincerely & devoutly may use the ministration to them committed to Gods honor, spiritual comfort of themselves, & al other christian people.

Service in the church.

The service used in the church, dayly in some places, or upon the Sundays & other feasts in al places; that is to say, mattins, prime hours, even-song & complene: whereof the most part is of scripture, as the Psalmes, & manytimes the legends (certain things added by men wel reformed) are very expedient & good, both for that the ministers calleth & giveth thanks to God for themselves & for the people: and also that by the example of their prayers they move & excite the people to pray with them. And therfore the adorning of the same service, surplices, copes, & other vestures & ceremonies in the doing therof, are very laudable & comely.

The sober, discrete & devout singing, musick & playing with organs, used in the church in the service of God, are ordained to move & sterve the people to the sweetnes of Gods word, the which is there sung: and by that sweet harmony both to excite them to prayer & devotion, & also to put them in remembrance of the heavenly triumphant church, where is everlasting joy, continual laud, & praise to God.

Ceremonies used in the mass.

p. 285. Forasmuch as divers goeth about to represent the mas, &, as much as in them is, to draw Christs flock from hearing therof, taking it as a thing of a little & smal value, & the ceremonies of the same for a mocking & a mumming; calling them *dumb ceremonies*: therefore to the intent that the mass may be the more regarded, & the mouths of such as calumniate & reprehend the same, stopped, it is to be understood, that the mas is a remembrance of the passion of Christ; whose most blessed body & bloud is there consecrated. And the ceremonies therof be not *dumb*, but they be expressives & declaratives of his said passion. To the intent, that by soche signes & ceremonies, they that be present thereat, may the better be admonished & reduced into the memory of the same.

And first, it is to be understood, that the priest is a common minister in the name & sted of the whole congregation, & as the mouth of the same, not only rendreth thanks unto God for Christs death & passion, but also maketh the common prayer, & commendeth the people & their necessities in the same unto Almighty God.

The priest, therefore, when he shal say mas, saith it not in his common apparel which he daily useth, but putteth upon him clean & hallowed vestments, partly representing the mysteries that were don in the time of his passion; partly representing the vertues that he himself ought to have that celebrates the mass.

And first, he putteth on the *amyss*, which, as touching the mystery, signifieth the vail, with which the Jews covered the face of Christ, when they buffeted him in time of his passion. And as touching the minister, it signifieth faith, which is the head, ground & foundation of al vertues. And therefore he putteth that upon his head first. Second,

he putteth upon him the *albe*, which, as touching the mystery, signifieth the white garment, wherewith Herod clothed Christ in mocking, when he sent him to Pilate. As touching the minister, it signifieth his promise of conscience & innocency, the which he ought to have, especially when he singeth the mas.

The *girdle*, as touching the mystery, signifieth the whip or scourge, wherewith Christ was whipped. As touching the minister, it signifieth the continent & chaste living, or else the close mind which he ought to have in prayer, when he celebrateth.

The *stole*, as touching the mystery, signifieth the ropes & bonds that Christ was bound with to the pillars, when he was scourged. And as touching the minister, it signifieth the yoke of patience, which he must bear as the servant of God. In token wherof he putteth also the *phanon* upon his arm; which admonisheth him of ghostly strength & godly patience that he ought to have, to vanquish & overcome al carnal infirmity.

The overvisor, or *chesible*, as touching the mystery, signifieth the purple mantle that Pilates soldiers put upon Christ after that they had scourged him. And as touching the minister, it signifieth charity, a vertue excellent above al others.

The minister, the which shal celebrate, in the beginning cometh forth as it were from some secret place, to the midst of the altar; signifying therby, that Christ, which is the High Priest, came from the secret bosom of his Father, & virginal cloister of his mother, into this world, to offer sacrifice for mans redemption. And albeit that that sacrifice be a sufficient price & redemption for al the world, yet it is not efficient or effectual, but only to them which knowledgeth themselves with penance to be sinners: p 286. whom he came to justify, as he saith himself, "Non veni vocare justos sed peccatores."

Therefore the minister, in the beginning, teacheth al men by his *confession*, to supplicate & knowledg themselves sinners, & to ask remission, to the intent

they may be the more apt to be participant of this soch mystery. “*Nam justos in principio accusator est sui.*”

Then after this followeth *Kyrie eleyson*, & *Christe eleyson*; which be words of desire, & to pray God for mercy. Which mercy we cannot have of our deserts, but of Gods goodnes, & Christs merits only. And therfore the minister proceding to the midst of the altar, rendreth the glory unto God, saying the angels hymn & song, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*: that is to say, *Glory be unto God in heaven*. Wherby we be learned not only to know that we receive al our benefits of God, being bound to give him thanks therfore, but also the means wherby we receive them, which is by the mediation of Christ, that is both God & man, by whom the Father is pleased & reconciled, angels & men agreed.

Then, this song don, the minister & the people with *salutations* exhort each other to prayer. In which he prayeth as wel for the multitude as for himself. And therfore it is called *Collecta*. And it is directed to the Father, & commonly concluded with these words, *Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum*, &c. Which sheweth & declareth unto us, that we be only heard by Christ, & that our prayer is by him valuable; & by our selves without him of no value. And when the prayer is ended, the people expresseth their desirous minds to be heard, & answereth *Amen*, which signifieth, *so be it*.

After that prayer made, then the priest, as a meet minister to teach the people, readeth to them the *Epistle*, which is a lesson taken out of the Old & New Testament, & it precedeth the gospel, & prepareth the minds therunto, like as John prepared unto Christ, & the old law unto grace. And Christ sent the disciples into divers places to preach before his coming; wherby the people should be made more apt to receive the heavenly doctrin of the gospel, & with a true faith believe the rewards & benefits promised in the same.

Next to the epistle ensueth the *grail*; the which teacheth also soch wholesome doctrin, as was taught before in the epistle, that they proceeding in vertue, by degrees, may procede from vertue to vertue until soche time as they may se Almighty God in his glory. And therfore followeth a song of gladnes called *The Alleluia*, that is to say, *Laud ye God*; both to admonish us to remember God with a glad mind, & also with soch mind to prepare our selfe to the hearing of the gospel, & the joyful promises of the same.

Then followeth the *Gospel*, which is a glad message or tidings. For therin is contained the glad news of our salvation, the which the angels shewed to the shepherds at Christs coming, saying, *Ecce! evangelizo vobis gaudium magnum, &c.* Therfore the church with light, & other ceremonies of gladnes & peace, readeth it to the people, standing up presently to hear the same; declaring therby their promp & ready minds, that they have to the doctrin of the gospel. And forasmuch as faith springeth of the word of God, therfore divers days the church, after the gospel read, pronounceth with a loud voice the creed, expressing the faith with her mouth, which before she conceived in her heart, according to S. Pauls saying, "*Corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem.*"

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Then followeth the *offertory*: wherby we be learned to prepare our selves by Gods grace to be an acceptable oblation to him, to the intent we may be partakers of the blessed sacrifices, which Christ offered for us upon the cross.

At which time the minister, laying the bread upon the altar, maketh the *chalice*, mixing the water with the wine; signifying therby how that bloud & water ran out of Christs side in his passion, & admonisheth us of the inseparable coupling & joyning of Christ & his church together.

Then after the offertory don, the priest *washeth* his hands; knowledging himself not to be so clean,

but that he hath ever need more to be washed, according to the saying of David, "Wash me, Lord, more & more from my wickednes, & cleanse me from my sin."

Then after followeth a *prayer secretly* said, which is called *The secret of the mas*; & that signifieth Christs secret & privy conversation which he kept with his disciples a little before his passion. For after the determinate sentence of death, conspired by Caiaphas & the Jews against him, he walketh no more among them openly, but among his disciples secretly.

Next after the *secret* followeth the *preface*; which is a proloquution or prayer going before the most reverend consecration of Christs body & bloud; preparing the minds of his faithful people to the reverence of the same, & moving them to erect their hearts to Almighty God, giving him thanks for his inestimable benefits; with desiring that their voice, joined with the company of angels in one consent of laud & praise, proceeding as wel from the church triumphant as militant, unite & knit together, may without end sing this seraphical hymn & song, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*, to the laud of the blessed Trinity, whose glory replenisheth heaven & earth.

Then after this *preface* followeth the *canon*, which is said secretly of the priest, not because it is unlawful to be heard, read or known of the people, but that it is expedient to keep silence & secrecy at the time of such a high mystery, that both the priest & the people may have the more devout meditation, & the better attend about the same.

Then the priest, to represent in this sacrifice of the mas the most painful & bloody sacrifice once offered for our salvation upon the cross, prayeth the Father to accept these gifts prepared for the consecration; & enclining his body maketh a cross upon the altar & kisseth it; signifying therby the humble enclining & willing obedience of Christ to his Fathers

wil, to suffer his passion upon the altar of the cros for our salvation.

And then following the example of Christ, the high bishop, which approching the time of his passion, gave himself to prayer, & also according to the apostles doctrine to Timothy, the minister giveth himself to prayer. First in general for the universal church: of the which he desireth peace & preservation. Second, for princes & rulers; making an honorable mention of the saints which be departed. And first, of our Lady, the twelve apostles, & as many martyrs, which either by their bodily presence preaching, or their blood shedding, in their life time did bear witnes & testimony to Christs passion, joyning them as it were both in one communion & participation of Christs death & merits, which hath deserved as wel grace to the one, as glory to the other: desiring God by their prayers to protect & defend the whole congregation of al christians.

P. 288.

And after certain prayers & petitions for the people, & also that the oblation may be acceptable to God, he procedeth with al reverence to the *consecration*.

First of the bread, taking it in his hands & giving thanks, following the example of Christ: by vertue & power of whose words the substance of bread is turned into the substance of the body of Christ; & likewise the substance of wine into his precious blood. Which he lifteth up, both that the people with al reverence & honor may worship the same; & also to signify therby partly Christs exaltation upon the cros for our redemption, which was figured by the serpent set up by Moses in the desert, & partly signifying that triumphant advancement & exaltation, wherewith God his Father, because of his passion, hath exalted him above al creatures: bidding the people to have it in remembrance, as oft as they shal do the same.

After the which, the priest extendeth & stretcheth abroad his armes in form of a cross; declaring ther-

by, that according to Christs commandment, both he & the people not only have the fresh remembrance of his passion, but also of his resurrection & glorious ascension; & so procedeth to the second *memento*, in which he prayeth for them that be dead in the faith of Christ, & sleep in peace, that it might please God to grant them a place of refreshing light & peace.

Then he joyneth himself with the people; *knocking* upon his breast: therby teaching them, that he & they both be sinners, & have need of mercy & grace, purchased by Christs passion; & desireth Almighty God to give them a society with the holy apostles & martyrs, not as an esteemer of their merits, but as a merciful graunter of remission, & that by Christ; by whom he worketh & graunteth al these benefits. Wherefore al honor & glory is to be rendered to him by Christ, & with Christ the H. Ghost, being knit in unity unto them.

And then expressing with a loud voice, how long this honor & glory is due to God *per omnia secula seculorum*, that is to say *perpetually*; the church answering, *Amen*, so be it.

p. 289. The priest then, to the intent he may the more worthily receive the holy & blessed body & bloud of Christ, both to the comfort & strength, as wel of him, as them that be present, saith the *Pater noster*, asking of God this heavenly & celestial bread, with deliverance from al evils, & encreas of quietnes & peace. And so discovering the chalice, intokening that Christ would the fruit of his passion to be opened & manifest to al the world, taketh the host & breaketh it, & divideth it, intokening of the distribution of it among his disciples at the last supper, & the breaking of his body the time of his passion. At which supper, above al things, he commendeth unto them peace & charity, saying, "*Pacem meam do vobis, pacem relinquo vobis.*" And therfore the minister taketh the kiss of peace from the bl. sacrament, & sendeth it to the people, saluting each other.

in osculo sancto, as biddeth S. Paul : admonishing therby of the fraternal & mutual peace & concord which they ought to have, without the which peace & concord, this communion or sacrament of common union is to them nothing profitable, but much damnable.

Then saith the priest thrice, *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, &c.* Advertising us of three effects of Christs passion : wherof the first is, deliverance from the misery of sin. The second is from pain of everlasting damnation ; wherof he saith twice, *Miserere nobis*, that is to say, *Have mercy on us*. And the third effect is, giving of everlasting peace, consisting in the glorious fruition of God. Wherefore he saith, *Dona nobis pacem*, that is to say, *Give us peace*.

Then followeth the *commixtion* of the body & blood of Christ together : signifying the joyning together of his body & soul in the resurrection, which before were severed at the time of his passion.

And albeit there be two consecrations, yet there is but one sacrament, containing under each form the holy body & bloud of Christ inseparable.

Then followeth the *communion*, which is an exciting or a moving to the people to laud & praise God. And because in the primitive church, when devotion was fervent, divers used manitimes to receive it together with the priests, therefore in the prayer called *The Post Communion*, the priest, in the name of them al, prayeth & rendreth thanks unto God for their spiritual refection, *per Dominum nostrum*; by whose passion exhibit, the mas hath his strength & efficacy.

Then the priest eftsones turning his face to the people, after the salutation, saith these words, *Ite, missa est*: that is to say, *Go ye, the mas is ended*. And in that he biddeth them *go* is signified, that we ought to follow Christ in his holy life, & always to be *going* from vertue to vertue, & not to stand & tary in the worldly plesure, but diligently to hast us to the life everlasting : & that we may be of the num-

ber of them, to whom it shal be said, *Venite Benedicti*: that is to say, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom," & so forth.

The priest giveth at the departure sometime the benediction in the name of the whole Trinity, signifying that the last benediction, which Christ gave to his disciples in the Mount of Olivet, when he ascended to his Father: where he sitteth on his right hand a continual intercessor for us. To whom be al laud & praise for ever, *Amen*.

Sundays with other feasts.

P. 290. The Sundays are to be continued & employed in the service of God, to hear the word preached, to give thanks for the benefits which we receive dayly. And that day is much to be regarded both for the antiquity; & also for that it is a memorial of Christs resurrection. Wherby we ought to be stirred to erect our minds from earthly things to heavenly contemplations of Christs glorified nature: by that conceiving also a certain hope of our resurrection & eternal glory.

The *feasts* of our Lord divers times in the year, received & approved as holy & solemn days, are to be kept in their accustomed veneration & solemnity, as wel for the sundry causes before rehersed, as also for that they represent unto us the manifold & inestimable benefits of our redemption; as the incarnation of Christ, his apparition, passion, resurrection, ascension, the sending down of the H. Ghost, & soch other.

The feasts of *saints*, as divers, of our bl. Lady, of the apostles, martyrs, confessors & virgins; soch as are not abrogated, or otherwise ordered by the high governor, are to be used in godly exercise & due veneration, according to the approved custom. Because that in those days we remember the high gifts of God in them: & for those not only to glorify him, but also to pray him that we may have like grace here to follow their example of godly living, & at the last attain

with them that everlasting life, & the state that they be in.

Bells.

Bells are ordained to cal the ministers & people to the church in times convenient: admonishing them to come to the preaching of the word of God, the ministration of the sacraments, the divine service & prayers in the church for the time used: to give knowledg of our christian brother or sister departed this world; that both we may cal to our remembrance our own mortality, & also be moved with charity to pray for them so departed.

Vesture & tonsure of the ministers of the church, & what service they be bound unto.

It is convenient, that bishops, priests, & al other soch as hath orders, & continue in their ministration, for an honest difference to be known from other persons, should not only wear certain maner of vestures & other raiment; but also for a like difference to have, according to their order & degree, a convenient crown, with other honest tonsure in their hair.

It is also laudable & convenient, that, except sicknes, or any other reasonable impediment, every bishop, priest & others having orders, & continuing in their administration, shal dayly say divine service, that is to say, mattins, prime hours, even song, & compline; and soch as are bishops & priests divers times to say mas. And that they may say it the more oftentimes, they ought to pray for grace, & dispose themselves accordingly.

Bearing candles on Candlemas-Day.

P. 291.

Bearing *candles* on Candlemas days, is a very good usage in memory of Christ the spiritual light; of whom Simeon did expres, as is read in the church that day.

Fasting dayes.

Fasting certain times & dayes in the year, as ab-

stinence in Lent, & other times received & appointed to be kept, & not changed or abrogated, are very laudable, &, without a just & reasonable to the contrary cause, ought to be observed according to the custome of this realm. For tho the maner of fasting, & certain days of fasting are not expressed in scripture; yet we ought to fast, by the teaching of the scripture, as it appeareth in many places of the same, both in the Old & New Testament. For it is a godly exercise, both to subdue & mortify the fleshly appetites, & also to make the person more apt to prayer. And therefore our Master Christ, for our example, not only fasted, but also did teach us, that when we fast, wee should beware of hypocrisy.

The giving of ashes.

The giving of *ashes* upon Ashwednesday, with these words, "Remember, man, that thou art ashes, & to ashes thou shalt return," is to put us in remembrance, in the beginning of Lent, of our frail nature, & uncertainty of this life here. Wherefore it were very good & convenient to expres the same in English to the understanding of unlearned persons.

The covering of the cros, & images in Lent.

The *covering* of the cros, & the images in Lent, with the discovering of the same at the resurrection, signifieth not only the darknes of infidelity, which covered the face of the Jews in the Old Testament, but also the dark knowledg that they had of Christ: which was the perfection & end of the law, & not yet opened unto the time of his death & resurrection.

And the same partly is signified by the vail, which hid the secrets of *sancta sanctorum* from the people; & in the time of Christs passion was opened, that all men might se it, & have a ready entrance therunto: the H. Ghost signifying, as saith S. Paul, that the way of holines was not yet opened so long as the first tabernacle was standing; nor the way of life, as the prophet saith, was known before.

Bearing of palmes.

p. 292.

Bearing of *palmes* on Palm Sunday, in memory of receiving of Christ into Jerusalem a little before his death; that we may have the same desire to receive him into our hearts.

The service of Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, before Easter.

The service upon Wednesday, Thursday, & Good Friday, differeth from other service in the year; & the church useth then lamentable & mournful ceremonies: reading the lessons of the Lamentations of Jeremy, signifying a heaviness. For so much as the Jews at that time travailed & sought by all means to attach Christ, & bring him to his death. And the same service is called *tenebres*. Because that Christ walked not then openly as he was wont to do, but kept himself secretly with his disciples in a city called Ephrem, till it pleased him willingly to come & suffer his passion for our salvation.

The candles in those nights, first light & then put out at every psalm & lesson, signifieth the manifold lights given to the holy prophets before the coming of Christ, which at this time were darkened. For the world was then in an infidelity, & the cruel Jews did not only put the former prophets to death, but also then they practised the death of Christ, the head of all prophets; which shortly after they accomplished to their confusion, & our salvation.

Upon Shier Thursday, as we call it most principally, it is to be considered, that our Savior did institute the most blessed sacrament of the altar. For then he both gave to his disciples his most blessed body to eat, & his most precious blood to drink, the very same that afterward was betrayed for us, & put to death, rose & ascended. He washed also the same day the feet of his disciples, teaching humbleness, & very love & charity by his example.

The hallowing of oyl & chrism.

Oyl & chrism are this day consecrated; which signifieth principally the imperial & priestly dignity of Christ, & his anointing with the spiritual unction of the H. Ghost above al creatures: admonishing us of our state & condition. For as of *chrisma* Christ was named, so of *Christ* we be called *Christians*. And secondarily, it signifieth defacing & abolishing of the rites & consecrations of the old law, which were don in oyl. And therfore at this time the old oyl is burnt & destroyed, & new consecrated: signifying therby our new regeneration in Christ, & holy inunction, which we have by the H. Spirit.

p. 293.

The washing of the altars.

It is a laudable custom the same day to wash the altars, & to prepare with al cleannes the places, whereas the most bl. sacrament shal be ministred: & also to be for us a remembrance, that as those things inanimate are washed & cleansed for that purpose, so we ought much more to prepare & wash our minds & consciences at al times; & especially at this time, for the more worthy receiving of the same most high sacrament.

Upon Good Friday is renewed yearly the remembrance of the blessed passion. Wherefore that day, among other godly ceremonies to be continued, is the *creeping* to the cros. Where we humble our selves to Christ before the same, offering unto him, & kissing of his cros, in memory of our redemption by Christ upon the cros.

And that day is prepared & wel adorned the *sepulture*, in remembrance of his sepulture, which was prophesied by the prophet Esay to be glorious. Wherin is layd the image of the cros, & the most bl. sacrament. To signify, that there was buried no corps nor body that could be putrified or corrupt, but the pure & undefiled body of Christ without spot of sin: which was never separated from the godhead. And

therefore, as David prophesied in the XV Psalm, *it could not se corruption*, nor death could not detain nor hold him : but he should rise again to our great hope & comfort. And therefore the church adorneth it with lights, to expres the great joy that they have of that glorious triumph over death, the devil & hell.

The hallowing of the font upon Saturday in the Easter Even.

UPON Saturday Easter Even is hallowed the *font* ; which is as it were *vestigium*, or a remembrance of baptism, that was used in the primitive church. At which time & Pentecost, there is used in the church two solemne baptizings, & much concourse of people come unto the same.

The first was at Easter time, because that the mystery of baptism agreeth wel to the time. For like as Christ dyed & was buried, & rose again the third day ; so by putting into the water, is signified our death to sin, & the immersion betokeneth our burying & mortifying to the same. And our rising again out of the water, declareth us to be risen unto new life, according to the doctrin of S. Paul, Rom. vi. And

The second solemne baptizing, that is to say, at Pentecost, was because that then is celebrate the feast of the H. Ghost ; which is the worker of that spiritual regeneration, which we have in baptism. And therefore the church useth yet, to hallow the font also at that time.

The ceremonies of the resurrection in Easter Morning. p. 291.

UPON Easter Day, in the morning, the ceremonies of the resurrection be very laudable, to put us in remembrance of Christs resurrection, which is the cause of our justification. And that as Christ, being our head, was the first among the dead, which

rose, never to dy again, so al christen men, being his members, do conceive therby a sure hope to rise from death of sin, to godly conversation in this life; & finally at the day of judgment, when the body & flesh of al men, women & children shal, by the operation of God, be raised again, to rise with him in everlasting glory.

General & particular processions.

General *processions*, & other particular processions, with the litanies & other prayers, be very laudable. Wherin we pray to Almighty God for the health, prosperous state & victory of our prince, for the wealth of his realm, & for the temperance & purenes of the air to mans health: and also for the encrease of green gras & other fruits growing upon the earth for the sustinence of men. In the which processions we use to follow the cros, & the image of our Savior: not only praying unto him for our necessities, whose image we do follow, but also professing our selves, as true christen people, ready to bear our cross with Christ, willingly to suffer al troubles & afflictions, layd upon us for the love & cause of our Saviour. Like as he suffered for us, & so as his servants, soldiers, & men of war we follow his banner for the remembrance of him: declaring our promise, & readines in al things to follow & serve him: provided always, that in al processions the maner of praying, appointed by the kings injunctions, be observed.

Benedictions of bishops or priests.

The accustomed *benedictions* of bishops or priests, of old time used in the church, are very laudable. For, as ministers & pastors of the flock of Christ, for the holy people, wheras they have their administration, they pray to Almighty God, that it may pleas him to bless the people, that is to say, to give unto them his goodnes & grace in al their necessities

both for the body & soul ; making a cros, to signify in whose name they bless, & by whom they ask the same gift of God.

Holy water & holy bread.

Holy water & holy bread be two godly ceremonies, & to be continued in the church. The one, to put us in remembrance of our baptism, & of the bloud of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the cros. p. 295. And the other, to put us in remembrance, that al christen men be one mystical body of Christ; as the bread is made of many grains, & yet but one loaf. And to put us in remembrance also of the receiving of the h. sacrament & body of Christ in right charity; which in the beginning of Christs church men did more ofter receive, than they use now a dayes to do.

NUMBER CX.

A proclamation for an uniformity in religion ; and about reading the Bible in English : with the kings owen emendations of this draught of it.

THE kings most royal majesty hath been informed, Cleopatra,
E. 5. that great murmurs malice & malignity is risen and sprung among divers & sundry of his subjects by diversity of opinion: some of them minding craftily, by their preachings & teachings, to restore in this realm the old devotion to the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, the hypocrites religion, superstitions, pilgrimages, idolatry, & other evil & naughty ceremonies & dreams, justly & lawfully abolished & taken away by authority of Gods word ; & to allure the people again to the same & some other, taking & gathering divers holy scriptures to contrary senses & understanding, do so wrest & interpretate, & so untruly alledg the same, to subvert & overturn as wel the sacraments of holy church, as the power & authority of princes & magistrates, & in effect gene-

rally al laws & common justice, & the good & laudable ordinances & ceremonies, necessary & convenient to be used & continued in this realm : which were ordained for the encrease & edifying of vertue & good christen learning: some of them also using the scripture permitted to them by the kings goodnes in the English tongue, * *at such times & places, & after* * [much contrary to his highnes expectation : for his majesties intent & hope was, that they that would read the scripture, would, with meeknes & wil to accomplish the effect of it, read it, & not to maintain erroneous opinions, & preach [them] nor for to use the reading & preaching of it in undue time & places, & after] such fashions & sorts, as it is not convenient to be suffered. And thus each of them dispute so arrogantly against the other of their opinions, as wel in churches, alehouses, tavernes, & other places & congregations, that there is begun & sprung among themselves slander & rayling each at other, as wel by words as writing ; one part of them calling the other *papist*, & the other part calling the other *heretic* : wherby is like to follow * *sedition* * [dissension] & tumult, * *to their own destruction* * [not only to their own confusions, that teach & use the same, but also to the disturbance, & liklihood to destruction of al the rest of the kings true & wel-beloved subjects,] if his majesty, like a godly & catholick prince, of his excellent goodnes, by his princely power & authority given him by God, should not politicly, in the beginning, provide for the same.

p. 296.

For remedy wherof his most royal majesty, by his most excellent wisdome, knowing & considering his kingly office & charge touching the premisses, & daily painfully studying & devising, with a most noble & earnest heart, to reduce his people committed by God to his cure, to unity of opinion, & to encrease love & charity among themselves, & constantly to conserve them in the same, intendeth, God willing, by advice of his prelates & clergy, & other of his council, to procede to a ful order & resolution

to extinct al such diversities of opinions by **terrible** [good & just] laws to be made for the same, by authority of his parliament. And yet nevertheles now in the beginning of his parliament, of his most excellent & virtuous goodnes, mindeth by a proclamation set forth **by** [by his highnes with] the advice of his council **by authority of parliament** [according to authority of parliament already to his highnes successors & council granted] to extirpe & take away some occasions, **and** [as hereafter followeth,] which have moved & bred division among sundry of his subjects:

And therefore by authority of this his present parliament, straitly chargeth & commandeth, that no person or persons shal from henceforth slanderously & maliciously name or cal any other *papist* or *heretic*, unles the person or persons, so using themselves, can & do lawfully & justly prove the same to be true, upon pain of - - - - - . And over this, his majesty straitly chargeth & commandeth, that no person, except such as be curates, or graduates in any of the Vniversities of Oxford or Cambridg, or such as be, or shal be admitted to preach by the kings licence, or by his vicegerent, or by any bishop of the realm, shal teach or preach the Bible, or New Testaments, nor expound the mysteries therof to any other; nor that any person or persons shal openly read the Bible or New Testament in the English tongue in any churches or chappels, [or elsewhere] with any loud or high voice; [& especially] during the time of divine service, or of celebrating & saying of masses: but virtually & devoutly to hear their divine services & masses; & use that time in reading & praying with peace & stilnes, as good christen men use to do [for his own erudition] upon the like pains, as is afore rehersed. **And also** [notwithstanding] his highnes is pleased & contented, that such as can [& wil] in the English tongue, shal & may quietly & reverently read the Bible & New Testament by themselves [secretly] at al times &

places convenient for their own instruction & edification, to encrease therby godlines & vertuous learning: **And if they shal happen to stond in** [with this admonishment nevertheles, that if they shal hap to find] any doubt of any text or sentence in the reading therof, to beware & take heed of their own presumptuous & arrogant expositions of the letter: but to resort humbly to such as be learned in h. scripture for their instruction in that behalf.

p. 297. Finally, his highnes signifieth to al & singular his loving & obedient subjects, that his majesty was, nor is compelled by Gods word, to set forth his scripture in English to his lay subjects, but of his own liberality & goodnes was & is pleased, that his said loving subjects should have, & read the same in convenient places & times; to the only intent to bring them from their old ignorance & blindnes, to virtuous living & godlines, to Gods glory & honor; & not to make & take occasion of dissension or tumult by reason of the same. Wherefore his majesty chargeth & commandeth al his said subjects to use the h. scripture in English, according to his godly purpose & gracious intent, as they would avoid his most high displeasure & indignation, beside the pain above remembred.

Let it be noted, that the sentences & words of this proclamation in italic, within two stars, are scratched out by the king in this MS. & the sentences & words standing within two crotchets, are inserted by the kings hand, sometimes as amendments of the words immediately preceding.

NUMBER CXI.

The Elector of Saxony's letter to the king; upon his mariage, with the Lady Anne of Cleves.

Cleopatra, *Excellent & most renowned king, our cousin, & dearly*
E. 5. *beloved alliance, & a lord worthy great reverence:*

S. D. Our counsellors, when they returned, shewed us, that the beginning of the mariage of your

royal majesty was joyful & prosperous, which we desire God to bless & fortunately to continue. We perceived also by our said counsellors, that your majesty had loving & familiar communication with them of many other matters, & of the common wealth: shewing your mind to be enclined & bent to make a league in honest causes, beside the cause of religion, with the famous Prince Landgrave Hassie, & with us (Elector of Saxony) as your highnes made like league with the most noble prince, Duke Juliacens our alliance. And when we were so united, then your majesty would, that afterwards we should intreat of religion, & a league should be made in the cause of religion. Of al the premisses how lovingly your highnes hath opened & shewed your mind & wil towards us, & with how great gentlenes you received & entreated our counsellors, both your letters do manifest a great part, & also they do plainly expres the whole. And though we also would desire to be confederated with your majesty in honest causes, beside the cause of religion, as in time past there hath been a special confederacy between kings of England & Dukes of Saxony, as stories do testify; yet this league, which is made by us with other princes & states of Germany, against the ungodly religion & tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, doth comprehend no other causes therto annexed. Therefore because your gr. would rather joyn your self to our league in other honest causes, beside the cause of religion, that is clean contrary to the meaning of our league, which containeth only the causes of religion, nother Landgravius Hassie, nor we, can without the conjunction of other make a covenant of causes, not appertaining to religion.

p. 298.

Your royal majesty doth wel remember, how diligently, before this time, you have treated with us by ambassadors, orators & letters, to make a league in the cause of religion, & have advertised us to constancy in the defence enterprized of true religion. And this last year the orators of your regal majesty

entreated with us in the council of Frankford of the same matter, that we should send our orators with commandments to make a league with the defence of true religion against the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, & not of other causes. And as at that time we did send some: but not only that thing was left unfinished, but also there followed a decree of the parliament; which, as we hear, was made by the conspiracy & craftiness of certain bishops, in whose mind hitherto the veneration or worshipping of Roman ungodlines is rooted. With the bitterness of that decree (of the six articles) both we & many others, which do think wel of your graces majesty, are astonied. For when your highnes had clean extinct, & put forth the power & dominion of the Bishop of Rome out of the realm of England, we had good confidence, that your gr. would not have suffered the bishops to have established errors brought into the church by covetousness & ambition of the Bishop of Rome. But yet we understand the sharpnes of that decree to be mollified by the wisdom & moderation of your highnes, & the execution therof not put in ure: & that your h. hath protested before our counsellors, that ye desire nothing so earnestly as the true doctrin may flourish or shine in churches. But it seemeth to your gr. as it doth to some other learned men in England, that our men in some articles do pass their bands (bounds.) For the which cause your gr. desired the confirmations of those articles taken out of true foundations, to be sent unto you; that yee might better weigh those articles, & deliberate of the whole matter with bishops & divines, which exceed others in learning & godlines. And ye sey, that the truth known, ye wil execute your office, & gladly prefer heavenly doctrin before mens traditions.

This remembrance of a will, worthy so wise & wel learned a king, hath provoked us again to great hope, that your h. (things better weighed) wil emend the abuses of the church; & wil exhibit or propose to

other kings an example of aiding or helping the church. Therefore we have commanded certain of our divines, that they should gather sure confirmations, & not very long, of four articles: that is to wit, of the *mass*; of the *use of the whole sacrament*; of the *mariage of priests*, & of *vowes*. These we send to your h. & lovingly & earnestly desire you, that ye wil ponder & weigh diligently so great things; & the thing being reasoned with men of right judgment, godly, & loving the truth, may make the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, arbiter or judg of this deliberation; of whom the heavenly said, *hear him*. That the churches of England set in a true trade, the honor & glory of God may flourish, & may set forth a godly example to other kings to reform the church. And it becometh your majesty so much the more that to do, because ye have begun amendment, in abolishing the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, & taking away some idols, & commanding the people to be more purely & sincerely taught. Truly some felicity it is, & a way to more light, that you have expelled the Bishop of Rome, & his tyranny, seeing it is the kingdom of antichrist, which is ruled by the devil, enemy unto Christ, it is no mervail that he doth impugn the gospel with an horrible boldnes & cruelty, &, as Daniel saith, *abjecteth the truth*, treading it under foot. The Bishop of Rome doth perceive, that if the gospel do flourish, his authority wil be darkned, his power made weak, his pleasures troubled. Therefore he endeavoureth with al his powers, to oppres the truth appearing or budding forth. p. 299.

Wherefore altho he doth hinder other kingdomes from better counsel, yet after that he is driven out of England, the churches there may be better holpen & provided for. And tho it be said, that there be left there many bishops & divines which carry about in their hearts a desire of the Bishop of Rome; yet your h. may other heal them, or else restrain them.

We offer also unto your gracious majesty our labor

& diligence, (and) if you wil, learned men to common together of these matters, & shal think (convenient that) both English divines & our divines to be sent on both parties in Geldria, Hamburgh, or Bremen: or, if your gr. had lever, any other meeter place, we gladly wil send chosen or picked men of great learning & godlines. And if after that, your gr. wil common also face to face with some of ours, we wil send good men & wel learned; & wil gladly help with al diligence your gr.'s good counsils. For we greatly desire a true & a godly consent to be made between the churches of England & Germany. That thing should greatly ornate the glory of God, & allure other nations. Therefore we promise our labor in this busines, with al study to your h. both for the glory of God, & our friendship.

For seeing now we be more conjoyned with a new knot of affinity, we greatly desire our conjunction somewhat to profit the church of Christ, & the common wealth. To the which end, the friendship of princes ought chiefly to be applied. And for that cause we do the more rejoyce at the affinity of your grace. And we desire that God may give to the mariage of your graces majesty, & of the most noble queen our alliance, continual felicity. We desire that your graces majesty wil take in good worth these our letters, written with most gentlenes, & with a certain singular love to your gr. & to accept them with as good mind as they were written.

We also thank your gr. that so lovingly hath declared your good wil towards us, & beneficial mind, both by letters & commandments given to our counsellors; & that so honorably entreated our counselors, & at their departing gave them such rewards. We also understode, that the letters of allowing the instruments concerning doweres sent thither, to have taken a little wet, for the which cause, if you wil (have) another like example to be written, & signed with a greater seal to be sent thither, gladly we wil in that behalf gratify your majesty.

And further, we thought it expedient to enform your majesty of this, that we, beside those things wherof our cousin & brother Landgrave instructed you, have perceived again that the Bishop of Rome, & certain of his adherents, yet hitherto doth go about divers things against your graces majesty. Wherefore you may not depart from the watch-place, but must take heed to their counsils, & devise in what things the Germans may be profitable unto you.

These things have we written for the great love we bear towards your h. as to our most intyrelly beloved lord, cousin, & alliance, & that in this thing you wil accept & take in worth our carefulnes & study. And we pray God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to keep long in good health your royal majesty, & the most noble queen, our dearly beloved alliance : unto whom we desire salutations be spoken in our behalf. To conclude, we commit unto your royal majesty al our duties, with a singular observance & love.

We wil not keep secret from your majesty, that we have assembled here a few dayes together with the noble Prince Landgrave Hassie, & with orators & legates of other princes & states of the empire, conjoynd with us in the cause of religion, & have deliberated to amend christian concord in the cause of faith. Wherof Cesars majesty doth put us in hope or comfort. Of the which if it fortune, as it is wont, with unjust rumours to be brought unto your gr. we wil desire you to give no faith unto them : but to be persuaded, that we wil be both desirous of sincere concord & public quietnes ; & also do covet nothing more, than that a godly reformation be enterprized of the church by the word of God : which doth seem to be very necessary. And that we verily wil not refuse truth & catholic doctrin of the church, which we confes to be agreeable to h. scripture. For this God wil keep & defend, we doubt not, for the consolation & health of godly minds, against the Bishop of Romes wil, & also the gates of hell.

NUMBER CXII.

Quidam doctrinæ Christianæ articuli, pro ecclesia Anglicana. With some notes of the king in the margin.

I. DE ECCLESIA.

Cleopatra,
E. 5.

ECCLESIA præter alias acceptiones in scripturis duas habet præcipuas. Vnam, qua ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione sanctorum, & vere fidelium, qui Christo capiti vere credunt, & sanctificantur spiritu ejus. Hæc autem una est, & vere * *sanctum corpus* Christi, sed soli Deo *cognitum*, qui hominum corda solus intuetur. Altera acceptio est, qua ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione, omnium hominum, qui baptizati sunt in Christo, & non palam abnegarunt Christum, nec sunt † excommunicati.‡

p. 301.

Quæ ecclesiæ acceptio congruit ejus statui in hac vita dumtaxat; ubi habet malos bonis simul admixtos; § & *debet esse cognita per verbum, & legitimum usum sacramentorum*, ut possit audiri. Sicut docet Christus, *Qui ecclesiam non audierit.*

Porro, ad veram unitatem ecclesiæ requiritur, ut sit consensus in recta doctrina fidei, & administratione sacramentorum.

Traditiones vero & ritus atq; cæremoniæ, quæ vel ad decorem, vel ordinem, vel disciplinam ecclesiæ, ab hominibus sunt institutæ, non omnino necesse est, ut eadem sint ubiq; aut prorsus similes. Hæ enim & variæ fuere, & variari possunt, pro regionum atq; morum diversitate ac commodo. || *Sic tamen ut sint consentientes verbo Dei.*

* Sponsa Christi cognita. † Juste. ‡ Aut obstinati.

§ Et cognitio hujus ecclesiæ pervenit per usum verbi, & sacramentorum acceptione, perfecta vnitatem, ac unanimi consensu, acceptata.

|| Modo rectoribus placeant: quibus semper obtemperandum est. Sic tamen ut eorum jussio atq; lex verbo Dei non adver-

Et quamvis in ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem, mali sunt bonis admixti, atq; etiam ministerijs verbi & sacramentorum nonnunquam præsent, tamen cum ministrent non suo, sed Christi nomine, mandato, & auctoritate, licet eorum ministerio uti, tam in verbo audiendo, quam recipiendis sacramentis. Juxta illud, *Qui vos audit, me audit.* Nec per eorum maliciam imminuiter effectus, aut gratia donorum Christi rite accipientibus. Sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem, & ordinationem Christi, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.

(*Annotationes in margine sunt d. regis Henrici VIII. manu propria scriptæ.*)

II. DE JUSTIFICATIONE.

Item, De *justificatione* docemus, quod ea proprie significat remissionem peccatorum, & acceptionem seu reconciliationem nostram in gratiam & favorem Dei: hoc est, veram renovationem in Christo: et quod peccatores licet non assequantur hanc justificationem absq; pœnitentia, & bono ac propenso motu cordis, quem spiritus efficit, erga Deum & proximum, non tamen propter dignitatem aut meritum pœnitentiæ, aut ullorum operum seu meritorum suorum justificantur, sed gratis propter Christum per fidem; cum credunt se in gratiam recipi, & peccata sua propter Christum remitti, qui sua morte pro peccatis nostris satisfecit.

Hanc *fidem* imputat Deus pro justitia coram ipso, Rom. 3 & 4. Fidem vero intelligimus non inanem & otiosam, sed eam quæ per dilectionem operatur. Est enim vera & christiana fides, de qua hic loquimur, non sola notitia articulorum fidei, & credulitas doctrinæ christianæ, duntaxat historica, sed una cum

setur. Ista est ecclesia nostra catholica & apostolica, cum qua nec pontifex Romanus, nec quivis aliquis (alius) prelatus aut pontifex habet quicquam agere, præterquam in suas diœceses.

p. 302.

illa notitia, & credulitate, firma fiducia misericordiæ Dei promissæ propter Christum, qua videlicet certo persuademus ac statuimus eum etiam nobis misericordem & propitium. Et hæc fides vere justificat, vere est salutifera, non ficta, mortua, & hypocrytica; sed necessario habet spem & charitatem sibi individue conjunctas; ac etiam studium bene vivendi; & bene operatur pro loco & occasione.

Nam *bona opera* ad salutem sunt necessaria: non quod de impio justum faciens, nec quod sunt pretium pro peccatis, aut causa justificationis; sed quia necessum est, ut qui jam fide justificatus est, & reconciliatus Deo per Christum, voluntatem Dei facere studeat, juxta illud, “Non omnis, qui dicit mihi, Domine, Domine, intrabit regnum cœlorum, sed qui facit voluntatem patris mei, qui in cœlis est.” Qui vero hæc opera facere non studet, sed secundum carnem vivit, neq; veram fidem habet, neq; justus est, neq; vitam æternam (nisi ex animo resipiscat & vere pœniteat) adsequetur.

III. DE EUCHARISTIA.

De *eucharistia* constantur credimus, & docemus, quod in sacramento corporis & sanguinis Domini, verè & substantialiter, & realiter adsunt corpus & sanguis Christi, sub speciebus panis & vini; & sub eisdem speciebus verè & realiter exhibentur, & distribuuntur illis, qui sacramentum accipiunt, sive bonis sive malis.

IV. DE BAPTISMO.

De *baptismo* dicimus, quod baptismus a Christa sit institutus, & sit necessarius ad salutem; & quod per baptismum offerantur remissio peccatorum, & gratia Christi, infantibus & adultis. Et quod non debeat iterari baptismus. Et quod infantes debeant baptizari: et quod infantes per baptismum consequuntur remissionem peccatorum, & gratiam; & sunt filij Dei. Quia promissio gratiæ & vitæ æternæ per-

tinet non solum ad adultos, sed etiam ad infantes. Et hæc promissio per ministerium in ecclesia, infantibus & adultis administrari debet.

Quia vero infantes nascuntur cum peccato *originis*, habent opus remissione illius peccati. Et illud ita remittitur, ut reatus tollatur, licet corruptio naturæ, seu concupiscentia, maneat in hac vita: et sic incipit sanari, quia Spiritus Sanctus in ipsis etiam infantibus est efficax, & eos mundat suo quodam modo.

Probamus igitur sententiam ecclesiæ: quæ damnat Pelagianos, qui negabant infantibus esse peccatum originis. Damnamus & anabaptistas, qui negant infantes baptizandos esse.

De *adultis* vero docemus, quod ita consequuntur, per baptismum, remissionem peccatorum & gratiam, si baptizandi attulerint pœnitentiam veram, confessionem articulorum fidei, & credant verè ipsis ibi donari remissionem peccatorum, & justificationem propter Christum. Sicut Petrus ait in Actis, “Pœnitentiam agite; & baptizetur unusquisq; vestrûm in nomine Jusu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, & accipietis donum Sp. Sancti.”

V. DE PŒNITENTIA.

p. 303.

De *pœnitentia* docemus, quod lapsis post baptismum necessaria sit pœnitentia: & quod lapsi, qui in hac vita non agunt veram pœnitentiam certò damnentur. Contra autem, quod lapsi, quandocunq; verè convertuntur, & agunt vere pœnitentiam, certo consequantur remissionem peccatorum.

Vt autem, quæ sit vera pœnitentia melius cognoscatur, docemus eam esse serium animi dolorem pro peccato, & odium peccati, una cum firma fiducia divinæ misericordiæ, & remissionis peccatorum propter Christum, ac certo proposito vitam in melius commutandi, & deinceps non peccandi.

Habet enim vera pœnitentia, per legem, agnitionem peccati, contritionem, & veros terrores con-

scientiæ; dum peccator sentit Deum irasci peccato, & æterna damnatione se dignum judicat; nec posse ullis, vel virtutibus, vel operibus suis, gratiam & remissionem peccatorum promereri.

Porro autem, ut peccator hijs conscientiæ terroribus percussus, consolationem & remissionem peccatorum consequatur, necessum est, ut se totum ad Deum convertat, & certa fiducia remissionem peccatorum a Deo postulet; credatq; quod Deus sibi velit esse propitius, & peccata condonare propter Christum.

Et quavis solus Christus sit hostia, satisfactio, & unica propitiatio pro peccatis, tamen scire oportet, quod Deus a pœnitentibus necessario requirat fructus dignos pœnitentiæ, hoc est, vitæ novitatem, & carnis mortificationem, & perpetuum studium bene operandi.

Juxta illud Ro. 6. "Sicut exhibuistis membra vestra servire immunditia & iniquitati, ad iniquitatem; ita nunc exhibete membra vestra servire justitiæ in sanctificationem." *Item*, Ephes. 4. "Renovamini spiritu mentis vestra," &c.

De *confessione* vero, & *absolutione* privata, docemus, quod retinendæ sunt in ecclesia propter absolutionem, & multa alia commoda. Quanquam in confessione non sit necessaria omnium delictorum enumeratio. Est enim impossibilis, juxta Psal. *Delicta quis intelligit?*

Aliter & prolixius. De pœnitentia.

Clementissimus ac summè misericors Deus cujus apud propheram vox est, "Nolo mortem impij, sed ut impius convertatur a via sua, & vivat," ut misericordiam suam peccatoribus impertiret, saluberrime instituit pœnitentiam. Quæ cum sit velut aditus quidam & janua ad thronum gratiæ Dei per Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum, tantam ejus tum utilitatem esse dicimus, ut omnes qui in mortalia crimina prolapsi sunt, nisi pœnitentiam egerint, æternum supplicium luituri sint. Contra vero, qui hoc

salutari pœnitentiæ pharmaco uti voluerint, gratiam & remissionem peccatorum indubie consequentur.

Quum autem peccare a nobis est, resurgere vero a peccatis munus est divinum, valde expedit ut sciamus Sanctum Spiritum hujus, de qua loquimur, pœnitentiæ authorem esse, & perfectorem; eamq; in peccatore, qui spiritus motibus obsequitur, hoc modo efficere & operari.

p. 304.

Primum, peccator per Spiritum Sanctum, & verbum, peccata sua egnoscit, & veros conscientiæ terrores habet, dum iram Dei contra peccata timet. Adhæc, dolet ac ingemiscit propter offensum Deum, & illi peccata sua supplex confitetur, tanto prioris vitæ odio, ut secum firmiter statuatur, ad eam postea nunquam reverti. Ad hunc modum peccator contritus & territus peccatorum suorum consideratione, ejusdem spiritus beneficio erigitur, & certo credit, quod Deus sibi velit esse propitius, & peccata condonare, non merito & dignitate pœnitentiæ, aut suorum operum, sed ex gratuita misericordia, propter Christum, qui solus est hostia, satisfactio, & unica propitiatio pro peccatis nostris.

Hæc fiducia misericordiæ Dei propter Christum, peccatoris conscientiam pavore liberat, terrores expellit, & animum totum huc inflectit, ut jam nihil magis cupiat, quam juxta Dei voluntatem vivere, & postea nunquam peccare. Nam vitæ novitatem, sive fructus dignos pœnitentiæ ad totius pœnitentiæ perfectionem necessario requirit Deus.

Atq; hujus quidem pœnitentiæ initium, progressum & finem scriptura nobis aperte commonstrat. Ps. 37. "Non est pax ossibus meis a facie peccatorum meorum." 1 Jo. 2. "Filioli, hæc scribo vobis, nec peccetis: quod si quis peccaverit, advocatum habemus apud Deum, Jesum Christum justum. Et ipse est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris." Et ad Rom. 6. "Sicut exhibuistis membra vestra servire immunditiæ & iniquitati, ad iniquitatem; ita nunc exhibete membra vestra servire justitiæ, in sanctificationem.

Porro quoniam Christiani populi pars maxima carnalis est, nec quæ sit vera pœnitentia novit, nec quomodo sit agenda intelligit, nec unde sit speranda, peccatorum remissio cognoscit: ut in hijs omnibus melius instituatur & doceatur, valde utilem ac summè necessariam esse dicimus Confessionem, quæ Auricularis dicitur, & privatim fit ministris ecclesiæ.

Quæ sane *confessio* modis omnibus in ecclesia, retinenda est, & magnificianda, cum propter hominum imperitorum institutionem in verbo Dei, & alia comoda non parva, de quibus mox dicemus, tum præcipue propter *absolutionis* beneficium, hoc est, remissionem peccatorum, quæ in hac confessione confitentibus offertur & exhibetur per absolutionem, & potestatem clavium; juxta illud Christi, *Johan. 20. Quorum remiseritis peccata, &c.* Cui absolutioni certo oportet credere. Est enim vox evangelij, qua minister per verbum, non suo sed Christi nomine & autoritate remissionem peccatorum confitenti annuntiat & offert. Cui voci evangelij per ministrum sonanti dum confitens recta fide credit & assentitur, illico conscientia ejus fit certa de remissione peccatorum, & jam certo secum statuit, Deum sibi propitium ac misericordem esse.

Quæ una profecto res christianos omnes magnopere debeat permovere, ut *confessionem*, in qua per absolutionem gratiæ & remissionis peccatorum certitudo concipitur & confirmatur, modis omnibus & ament & amplectantur.

Et in hac privata absolutione sacerdos potestatem habet absolvendi confitentem ab omnibus peccatis etiam illis, quæ solita sunt vocari *casus reservati*. Ita tamen, ut ille privatim absolutus nihilominus pro manifestis criminibus, si in jus vocetur, publicis judicijs subiaceat.

Accedunt huc & alia confessionis arcanæ comoda: quorum unum est, quod indocti ac imperiti homines nusquam rectius aut melius quam in confessione de doctrina christiana institui possint. Nam cum animos attentos ac dociles in confessione afferunt,

diligenter ad ea, quæ a sacerdote dicuntur, animum advertunt.

Quocirca & fides eorum explorari potest, & quid peccatum sit, & que sunt peccatorum inter se discrimina & varietates, doceri poterunt. Multi enim, propterea quod hoc ignorent, in conscientijs sæpe graviter anguntur, illic trepidantes timore, ubi timor non est: *Qui* (ut servator ait) *culicem excolantes, camelum deglutiunt*, in minimis levissimisq; peccatis valde anxij, de maximis & gravissimis non perinde dolent.

Sunt porro qui peccatis adeo irretiuntur, ut semet nesciant explicare; quos doctis pijsq; consilijs sacerdos facile liberat, & exolvit. Ad hæc, pusillanimes de venia peccatorum desperantes, solatur & erigit: hypocritas, qui peccata sua non sentiunt, verbo Dei instruit & severiter reprehendit, conscientias trepidantes confirmat, anxias tranquillat; breviter, rationes & remedia commonstrat, quibus Satanæ tentationes vincere, & peccata fugere poterint.

Jam vero philantiæ morbum, quo multi in proprijs vitijs cecutiunt, & sibi ipsis nimium indulgent, peccata sua leviora esse putantes, quam reipsa sunt, hæc confessio peccatorum magnopere corrigit & emendat. Quandoquidem in confessione enormitatem & gravitatem peccatorum multo verius & altius aspicimus ac contemplamur, quam si tacita duntaxat cogitatione nobiscum in animo ea revolveremus.

Accedit huc, quod nusquam melius aut efficacius, quam in confessione peccatorum, humanæ mentis superbia frangitur, & animi humilitas acquiritur, ac retinetur; dum homo homini propter Deum se submittit, & pectoris sui arcana aperit.

Adhæc, pudor retegendi peccata multos mortales, ne in eadem relabantur, valde retrahit atq; cohibet.

Porro, quisquis simpliciter, & tanquam coram Deo, peccata sua sacerdoti aperit, declarat se Dei timorem habere, eumq; timorem, hac animi submissione, magis etiam conservat & auget.

Jam ipsa confessionis meditatio plurimum utilitatis adfert: utpote quæ facit, ut homo seipsum noscat,

dum magnitudinem, copiam & turpitudinem suorum criminum scrutatur & considerat. Unde nascitur & detestatio ac odium peccatorum, & propositum abstinendi ab eisdem.

Quod vero ad enumerationem peccatorum spectat, censemus scrupulosam, & anxiam non esse requirendam, ne laqueum injiciat hominum conscientijs & nimium timorem, qui vel dubios reddat, vel fiduciam remissionis auferat. Et quemadmodum non probamus illam scupulosam & anxiam, ita censemus segnem & supinam negligentiam in re tam salutari magnopere periculosam esse & fugiendam.

Quod siqui sunt, qui hanc confessionem vel damnant vel rejiciunt, hi profecto se in verbo Dei institutionem, & absolutionis beneficium, quod in confessione datur, & alia quæ ante diximus commoda, negligere & contemnere ostendunt: nec animadvertunt se in orbem christianum maximam peccandi licentiam invehere, & magnam hominibus in omne scelus ruendi occasionem præbere.

Docemus quod sacramenta, quæ per verbum Dei instituta sunt, non tantum sint notæ professionis inter christianos, sed magis certa quædam testimonia, & efficacia signa gratiæ & bonæ voluntatis Dei erga nos. Per quæ Deus invisibiliter operatur in nobis, & suam gratiam in nos invisibiliter diffundit, siquidem ea rite suscepimus. Quodq; per ea excitatur & confirmatur fides in hijs, qui eis utuntur.

Porro docemus, quod ita utendum sit sacramentis, ut in adultis præter veram contritionem, necessario etiam debeat accedere fides, quæ credat presentibus promissionibus, quæ per sacramenta ostenduntur, exhibentur & præstantur. Neq; enim in illis verum est, quod quidam dicunt, sacramenta conferre gratiam ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis. Nam in ratione utentibus necessarium est, ut fides etiam utentis accedat, per quam credat illis promissionibus,

& accipiat res promissas, quæ per sacramenta conferuntur.

De infantibus vero, cum temerarium sit eos a misericordia Dei excludere; præsertim cum Christus in evangelio dicat, “ Sinite parvulos ad me venire: talium est enim regnum cœlorum:” et alibi, “ Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua & Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum cœlorum: Cúmque perpetua ecclesiæ catholicæ consuetudine, jam inde ab ipsis apostolorum temporibus receptum sit, infantes debere baptizari in remissionem peccatorum: dicimus quòd Sp. Sanctus efficax sit in illis, & eos in baptismo mundet, quemadmodum supra in articulo de baptismo dictum est.

NUMBER CXIII.

The kings commission to the convocation; to examine the validity of his marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves.

Henricus Octavus Dei gratia, Angliæ & Franciæ MSS.
D.G.H.Eq.
Aur.
rex, fidei defensor, Dns. Hiberniæ, ac in terris
immediatè sub Christo supremum caput ecclesiæ
Anglicanæ, archiepis. Cant. & Eboracen. ac cæ-
teris regni nostri Angliæ epis. decanis, archidia-
conis, & universo clero, salutem:

EGERUNT apud nos regni nostri proceres & populus, ut, cum nuper quædam emerserunt, quæ, ut illi putant, ad nos regniq; nostri successionem pertineat, inter quæ præcipua est causa & conditio matrimonij, quod cum illustri & nobili fœmina Dna. Anna Clevensi, propter externam quidem conjugij speciem perplexum, alioqui etiam multis ac varijs modis ambiguum vident: nos ad hujusmodi matrimonij disquisitionem ita procedere dignaremur, ut opinionem vestram, qui in ecclesia nostra Anglicana scientiam verbi Dei & doctrinam profitemini, exquiramus, vobisq; discutiendi auctoritatem ita demandemus, ut si ani-

p. 268.

mis vestris fuerit persuasum, matrimonium cum præfata Dna. minime consistere aut cohærere debere, nos ad matrimonium contrahendum cum alia liberos esse, vestro primum ac reliquæ deinde ecclesiæ suffragio, pronuncietur & confirmetur.

NOS autem quivestrum, in reliquis ecclesiæ hujus Anglicanæ negotijs gravioribus, quæ ecclesiasticam œconomiam & religionem spectent, judicium amplecti solemus, ad veritatis explicandæ testimonium omnino necessarium rati sumus, causæ hujusmodi matrimonialis seriem & circumstantias vobis exponi & communicari curare: ut quod vos per Dei leges licere decreveritis, id demum totius ecclesiæ nostræ auctoritate innixi, licite facere & exequi publicè audeamus. Vos itaq; convocari & synodum universalem nostra auctoritate convenire volentes, vobis, conjunctim & divisim, committimus atq; mandamus, ut inspecta hujus negotij veritate ac solum Deum præ oculos habentes, quod verum, quod justum, quod honestum, quod sanctum est, id nobis de communi consilio, scripto autentico, renunciatis; & communi consensu licere definiatis. Nempe hoc unum a vobis nostro more postulamus, ut tanquam fida & proba ecclesiæ membra causa huic ecclesiasticæ, quæ maxima est, in justitia & veritate adesse velitis, & eam maturissimè, juxta commissionem vobis in hac parte factam, absolvere & expedire. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, teste meipso apud Westmonasterium, sexto

Anno 1540. die Julij anno regni nostri trecesimo secundo.

NUMBER CXIV.

The depositions of divers of the noble men, & others, before the convocation; concerning the kings marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves.

I. *The depositions of the Right Honorable Thomas Awdely, Lord Chancellor, Thomas Archbushopp*

of Canterbury, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Charles Duke of Suffolk, William Earl of Southampton, & Cuthbert Bishop of Durham, al joyntly together, are these :

AFTER the quene was brought to Grenewich, at her first arryval, the kings grace, willing to be adcertayned whether such promises as were made for the clearing of the spousalls or mariage betwixt her & the Duke of Lorraine his eldest son, were performed, deferred the despousing of the quene two dayes : and the said evenyng entred communication by his counsaill with theym that were her conducters, to know what they had brought in that mattier, which were the chieff about her. Who answered, that they had brought nothing at al in writing, albeit at Wyndesore the contrary was promysed, that the said spousalls should be clerely put out of doubt : and therupon instructions were sent to Doctor Wotton, then resident in Cleves, to sollicite the clearing therof ; as he brought forth before the said ambassadors avouched that he had don. But that notwithstanding nothing they had brought, nor could shew, but only by words made a light mattier of it, saying, it was don in their minority, & had never after taken any effect. Wherewith the kings majesty being mervailouslie discontent, was in mynd to have stayed, & not to have proceded further to the solemnization of his mariage, onles great sute had ben made unto hym by these to whom the traduction of the quene was committed by the duke her brother : who promised of new within a bref time after their arryval into their country, to send such a discharge of that mattier as shuld put al out of doubt. Which promises not only they have not fulfilled, but also sent such a writing for a discharge not being autentique, that putteth it in moch more doubt, cowching the words of that sort, that thespousals by theym spoken of to have ben made long agoo, may be taken for espousals not only *de futuro*, but also *de præsenti* ; which intriketh the

MSS.
Cottonian.

p. 308.

mattier moch more, & doth not clere it, as it was promysed ; as by the instrument therby it wil appere to al that read it. So that neyther the condition by theym promysed, to take that doubt away, is fulfilled, nor yet, as it may appere, can be fulfilled. For if better mattier could have ben shewed, better they wold have sent, after so great staves made, & so grete promyses therof eftsones renewed. So it appereth plainly the kings mariage not to be clered, as was promysed, but to remayne more intriked. And the condition of the clering therof, put always therunto by the kings majesty, not to be fulfilled in any wise by them that so promised.

Thomas Awdely, Chancellor. Charles Suffolk.

T. Cantuarien.

W. Southampton.

T. Norfolk.

Cuthbert Duresme.

II. *The deposition of the Duke of Suffolk, lord great master.*

The said lord saith, how in the begynnyng of the treatie of the mariage betwene the kings majesty & the Lady Anne of Cleves, he noted specially that the kings majesty constantly affirmed how his highnes wold do nothing therin, onely (onless) the pre-contract betwene the said lady, & the Marques of Loraine were first clered. Wherupon the commissioners of the Duke of Saxe & Cleves toke upon theym, & promised at the repayr of the said lady into England, to bring the ful and evydent clering therof ; which they did not. And therfor the kings majesty shewed himself not contented to be so handled ; & was as earnest to have the mattier clered as bifore. And for that cause the solemnization was differed from the Soneday to Tuesday, to compas

liked not the quenes person, ne had affection: but his highnes, as the said duke than thought, wold have ben glad, if the solemnization might than to the world have ben disappointed, without note of breach of his highnes behalf.

CHARLES SUFFOLK.

III. *The deposition of therle of Southampton, lord privy seal.*

The said erle saith, how at such tyme as the kings majesty appointed hym, being than admiral, to receve the quene at Calise, & conduct her over the seas, he, upon the first sight of her, considering it was than no tyme to dyspraise her there, whom so many had by reportes & paintings so moch extolled, did, by his lettres moch prayse her, & set her forth, wherewith the kings majesty, upon sight of her person, was not contented. As Sir Anthony Browne declared to the said erle at his repair to the court, & as the said erle might perceave by the kings highnes countenance. Wherof the said erle was very sory; & especially to se the kings majesty so to mislike the personage of the quene. At which tyme therle of Essex calling the said Erle of Southampton to hym, layd sore to his charge, that he had so moch praysed the quene by his letters from Calise, declaring therby his malicious purpose, how he entended to take occasion to do displeasure to the said erle, & to turn al the kings discontentment upon the shulders of the said Erle of Southampton. Unto whom the said Erle of Southampton answered, that he thought his prayse to good purpose, if he could have done any good by it, the mattier being so far passed. And with such & other like words passed over the communication with the said Erle of Essex: and in his own hart was very sory to se the kings highnes so coldly to procede to the execution of the solemnization of the mariage according to the treaty passed. For wheras the mariage should have been upon the Soneday, it was

deferred until Tuesday following: & moch fault found for clearing of the precontract, & want of a commission. Thending of which controversies therle of Essex, repairing secretly unto the king, did procure. But what he said to the king, the said Erle of Southampton cannot tel. The said Erle of Southampton saith also, how eight days after the solemnization, therle of Essex told him, how the quene was than a maid for the kings highnes, & that the kings highnes had no affection to her, & misliked her body, & the disposition therof. The said erle saith also, how a little before Easter last past, the kings highnes brake his mind frankly to the said erle, declaring how his grace had not yet known carnally the quene, with such other mattier & circumstance not to be openyd; as induceth the said erles conscience to think, that the kings highnes hath not carnally known the quene, ne cannot, for the disposition of her body, be provoked therunto: as by such mattier as the kings highnes than & sins did open unto him, doth appere to be true.

W. SOUTHAMPTON.

IV. *The deposition of my Lord Admiral (L. Russel.)*

My Lord Admyral saith, that whan the king cam to Rochester to se the quene, he saw the king, at the first view of the quene, mervailously astoned & abashed. And the next day returning from Rochester, his grace called the said lord admyral unto him, saying, How like you this woman? Do you think her so fair, & of such beauty as report hath ben made unto me of her? I pray you tel me trouth. Wherunto the said l. admyral answered, That he toke her not for faire, but to be of a brown complexion. And the kings highnes said, Alas! whom shuld men trust? I promise you, saith he, I se no such thing in her, as hath been shewed me of her, & am ashamed, that men have so praysed her as they have don, & I like her not. Which words

the kings highnes hath sundry times shewed unto him. At which time the said l. admyral saw the kings majesty sore troubeled in his countenance. Al which mattier the said l. admyral told Sir Anthony Browne, who declared to the said l. admyral, how the kings highnes had shewed the like unto hym. And further the said l. admyral saith, that the kings highnes hath sundry times lamented unto him his estate in this pretensed mariage; & he saith how before the marriage, & sins, observing & noting the kings highnes countenance, with other things not to be disclosed, he hath perceyved by his fashion & maner, that he hath ben nothing content with this mariage, but always troubled & unquiet therin.

By me J. RUSSEL.

V. The deposition of the Lord Cobham.

It chaunced the younger Palant, at his being here, to commun with my L. Cobham. To whom after discourse of sundry matters betwene them, the said Palant sayd, that he was sory to se the kings majesty, being so vertuous a prince, enter this matrimony: at Westminster, the sixth day of July, the XXXII year of the kings majestyes most noble reigne.

GEORGE COBHAM.

VI. The deposition of Sir Anthony Browne, master of the horse.

The said Sir Anthony saith, how at the arryval of the quene at Rochester, the kings highnes appointed to go thither to se her upon Newyeres-day, & ordered the said Anthony to wayt upon hym: & at his comyng thither, to go before unto her with this message, How he had brought her a Newyers gift, if it liked her to se it. And when the said Sir Anthony entred the chambre where she was, & having conceived in his mind, what was by pictures & ad-

vertisements signified of her beauty & qualities, at the general view of the ladies, he thought he saw no such thing there, & yet were thother of better favour than the quene. But whan he was directed unto herself, & advisedly looked upon her, he saith, he was never more dismayed in al his life, lamenting in his hart, which altered his outward countenance, to se the lady so far & unlike that was reported, & of such sort as he thought the kings highnes shuld not content hymself with her. Nevertheles at his retorne to the kings majesty with her answer, the said Sir Anthony said nothing, ne durst not. Than whan the kings highnes entred to embrace her, & kiss her, the said Sir Anthony saith, he saw & noted in the kings highnes countenance such a discontentment & misliking of her person, as he was very sory of it. For the said Sir Anthony saith, he moch marked that the kings highnes taried not to speak with her twenty words, but called for her counsail, & with his counsail & theym devysed communication al that night, the kings highnes without shewing any cherful or mery countenance disclosed not his hart. But wheras the kings majesty had brought with him a partlet furred with sables & richly garnyshed, sable skins garnyshed to wear about her neck, with a muffley furred, to geve the quene, & a capp, the kings highnes passed over thexecution of his intent that night, & in the morning sent them by the said Sir Anthony Browne with as cold & single a message as might be.

The said Sir Anthony saith also, how the kings majesty, retourning in his barge from thens to Grenewich, said to the said Sir Anthony, by his highnes commandment than sitting by him, these words, very sadly & pensively: I see nothing in this woman as men report of her: & I mervail that wise men wold make such report as they have don. With which words the said Sir Anthony was abashed, fearing lest any thing shuld be objected to my Lord of Southampton, his brother, for that he had written to her prayse.

The said Sir Anthony saith also, how the lady his wife departed, who was appointed to wayte upon her, told him before the mariage, how she saw in the quene such fashion, & maner of bringing up so gross, & far discrepant from the kings highnes appetite, that in her judgment the kings highnes should never hartily love her.

The said Sir Anthony saith also, how, the evening before the mariage solemnized, he saw the kings highnes nothing pleasantly disposed, but heard hym say, that he had a great yoke to enter into. And the morning the kings highnes prepared himself so slakely to go to the chappel to make solemnization, as in his countenance, fashion, & behaviour, he declared evidently, that he went to do that act, as hym thought, wherunto his grace was not moved, ne directed, by his entyre & harty consent; according wherunto he heard the kings highnes speak words in marching forwards to the Erle of Essex: which words nevertheles he did not so parfityly hear as he can report the same: but they seemed to this sense, that the kings highnes said, *He must nedes*.

Finally, the said Sir Anthony saith, that by sundry p. 312. the kings highnes behaviours before & after the mariage, he judgeth in his conscience that the king did never in his hart favour the lady to mary her, if outward respects had not enforced him to that act.

VII. *The deposition of Sir Thomas Hennege, Knt.*

The said Sir Thomas saith, how even sen the kings highnes saw the quene, his grace never liked her, as the said Sir Thomas judgeth. For he heard him say, before the mariage & syns, how that his highnes had ben yvel served of theym that his grace had put in trust. Insomoch as so often as his grace went to bed to her he ever grudged, & said plainly, he mistrusted her to be no mayd, by reason of the loseness of her brests, & other tokens. And furthermore,

that he could have none appetite with her to do as a man shuld do with his wife, for such displeasaunt ayres as he felt with her. And the said Sir Thomas hath so oftentimes heard his majesty say thus from time to time, that he judgeth in his conscience the quene, for any part of the kings body, to be yet as good a mayd as ever she was. And therupon he durst take his death.

THOMAS HENNEGE.

VIII. *The deposition of Mr. Anthony Denny, gentleman of the privy chamber.*

The said Sir Anthony Denny saith, That wheras hymself, at the first arryval of the quene, & long after, toke evermore occasion to prayse her to the kings highnes, his majesty wold never approve those prayses, but said ever, she was no such as she was prayed for. And after that, upon contynual prayings, the kings highnes said to the said Anthony Denny, how he wold utter playnly to hym, as to a servant whom he used secretly about hym, how indeede his highnes could not induce hymself to have affection to the quene, for that she was not as she was reported, but had her brests so slake, & other parts of body in such sort, that his highnes somewhat suspected her virginity, & concluded that her body was of such indisposition to his, that he could never in her company be provoked & stered to know her carnally. At which tyme the said Anthony, for answer to the kings highnes saying, lamented the state of princes to be, in mattiers of mariage, far of worse sort than the condition of poor men. For princes take as is brought theym by others, & poor men be commonly at their own choyce & liberty. The said Anthony remembreth not precisely the tyme of this communication, but he thinketh it was before Lent. Syns which time the kings highnes, at sundry seasons, hath had communications to like effect. By

which communications the said Anthony thinketh the quene to remain undefiled of the kings highnes body, & for any act of his highnes, to be stil a mayd.

By me,

ANTONY DENY.

IX. *The deposition of Thomas Wriothesley, one of the kings principal secretaries.* p. 313.

The said Sir Thomas saith, That eyther the sixth or seventh day of June last passed, but whether of theym he parfityly remembreth not, whan the L. Crumwel, than lord privy seal, came home to his house, nere the late Augustine-friers in London, from the court: it chaunced the said Sir Thomas to go into his gallery, where he found hym alone leanyng in his window. Of whom the said L. Crumwel demaunded, Have we any newys? None, Sir, quoth the said Sir Thomas, but that I wold be glad to go to my house hereby, to devyse how to make it fit for me, onless you shal commaund me to do any other busynes. Nay, quoth he, I have no busines now: but one thyng resteth in my hedd, which troubleth me, & I thought to tel it you. The king, quoth he, liketh not the quene, ne did ever like her from the begynnyng. Insomoch as I thynk adsurely she be yet as good a mayd for hym, as she was whan she came to England. Marie, Sir, quoth the said Wriothesley, I am right sory that his majesty shuld be so troubled: for Goddes sake devyse how his grace may be releved by one wey or other. Yea, how? quoth he. I cannot sodainly tel, quoth Wriothesley. But standyng the case as you say it doth, I thynk some wey may be devysed in it. Wel, wel, quoth he, it is a grete mattier. So it is, quoth I; & so we departed for that tyme. The next day following, as I remember, having occasion eftsones for busines to repayr unto hym, I chaunced to say, Sir, I have thought somewhat of the mattier ye told me, & I find it a great mattier; but, Sir, it can be made no

better than it is. For Goddes sake devyse for the relefe of the king; for if he remain in this gref & trouble, we shal al one day smart for it. If his grace be quiet, we shal have our parts with hym. It is trew, quoth he, but I tel you, it is a grete mattier. Mary, quoth I, I graunte, but let the remedy be serched for. Wel, quoth he; & thus brake off from me.

Per me,

THOMAM WRIOTHESLEY.

X. *The deposition of Mr. Doctor Chamber.*

The said Mr. Doctor Chamber deposeth, that in his conscience he thinketh the kings highnes not to have carnally known the quene. And he is moved thus to say & think, for that the kings highnes used the counsail of the said Dr. Chamber to remedy the indisposition of his graces body. And the morning after the first night, whan the kings highnes lay with the quene, his majesty, unasked, did of hymself say to the said Doctor Chamber, how that he had not that night knowen the quene. And so he did likewise divers other times, consulting with hym therupon. In which consultation the said Dr. Chamber counsailled his majesty not to enforce hymself, for eschewing such inconveniences as by debility ensuing in that case were to be feared. And the said Dr. Chamber finally saith, how, joyning together the kings highnes truth & wisdom with such reports as his majesty hath from tyme to tyme made, & adding therunto the disposition of the kings highnes body, wherunto he hath ben continually made privy, he estemeth it in his conscience for truth, that the kings majesty hath not hitherto known carnally the quene.

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The said Mr. Doctor saith also, how the kings majesty hath, as to his physician, secretly declared unto hym, & Mr. Doctor Butts together, how his grace found her body in such a sort disordered & indisposed to excite & provoke any lust in hym; yea,

rather ministring mattier of lothsomenes unto the same, that his majesty could not in any wise overcome that lothsomeness, ne in her company be provoked or stered to that act,

JOHN CHAMBER.

XI. *The deposition of Mr. Doctor Butts.*

The said Mr. Dr. Butts saith, how, the morning after the first night the kings highnes lay with the quene, his majesty said unto hym, & Mr. Dr. Chamber, that he had not that night carnally known the quene. The second night he lay not with her: the third & fourth night his grace lay with her, and always confessed he could not know her. And so hath contynually confessed unto the said Dr. Butts to this day. And in the mean tyme hath confessed to the said Dr. Butts, that he hath had *duas pollutiones nocturnas in somno*. And thought hymself able to do thact with other, but not with her. And upon these informations the said Dr. Butts thinketh that the kings highnes did never carnally know her.

The said Dr. Butts saith also, how the kings highnes complayned unto hym of the mislyking of her body, for the hanging of her brests, & loosnes of her flesh.

W. BUTTS.

[Then followeth a letter of the L. Crumwels of the same matter, superscribed, "To the King, my most gracious soveraign lord his royal majestie." But this I insert not, being already published in Bishop Burnets History of the Reformation.]

Such communication as was betwene the quenys grace, & the Ladies of Rutland, Rocheford, & Edgecomb, the Tuesday or Wennesday before Midsommer-day last, at Westminster.

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p. 193.

First, al they being together, they wished her grace with child. And she answered & said, she

p. 315. knew wel she was not with child. My Lady Edgecomb said, How is it possible for your grace to know that, & ly every night with the king? I know it wel I am not, said she. Than said my Lady Edgecomb, I think your grace is a mayd stil. With that she laughed. And than said my Lady Rocheford, By our Lady, Madam, I think your grace is a mayd stil, indede. How can I be a mayd, said she, & slepe every night with the king? There must be more than that, said my Lady Rocheford, or els I had as leve the king lay further. Why, said she, whan he comes to bed he kisses me, & taketh me by the hand, & byddeth me, Good night, swete hart: & in the morning kisses me, & byddeth me, Farewel, darlyng. Is not thys enough? Than said my Lady Rutland, Madam, there must be more than this, or it wil be long or we have a Duke of York, which al this realm most desireth. Nay, said the quene, is not this enough? I am contented with this, for I know no more. Then said my Lady Rutland, Did not your grace tel Mother Low this? Than said the quene, Mary, fy, fy for shame. God forbid. These words she hath said to them altogethers, & to eche of theym apart divers & sondry tymes. And the quene declared to my Lady Rocheford, how the king used her the four first nights: which was to theeffect afore written.

ELEONORE RUTLAND.

JANE ROCHEFORD.

CATHERINE EDGECOMB.

[Then follow the kings own assertions in this business; but Bishop Burnet hath published them in his work of the Reformation aforesaid; and therefore I spare it here.]

NUMBER CXV.

Robert Wisdome, a prisoner in Lollards Tower; his vindication of himself against certain articles charged upon him.

Grace, mercy & peace from God our Father, & from the Lord Jesu Christ, be with the gentil reader now & ever. Foxii MSS.

IT is no new thing, gentil reader, for preachers to ly by the heels for preaching: nether is it any strange matter for bishops & priests to be persecutors of Gods trewthe: which thei afore al men shulde preache & maynteyne. Nether shalt thou mervail mutch at yt, if thou cal to mynd the histories of Heylas, & Micheas, Hieremias, Esaias, & al other the Lords servants & prophets. It shal also appere right wel to thee to be no news, yf thou remembre John Baptist in prison, & Petre in chains; Paul also prisoner of Jesu Christ. And wold to God that examples of our tymes were as rare as they were in the apostells tyme, & that the new impiety did not far excede the old unfaithfulness. But as Christ said, the persecution of thes latter dayes is far worse than it was then: as the world groweth in age, so doth the iniquity encrease into the hevin, & provoked God to strike, if he dare, thes strong & stowte Nembroths, hunters & persecutors of al godlines & goodnes, & mighty repairers & builders of Babel, now begon to fal. Yt maketh them to rore & cry to se & perceyve, that Gods prayses shuld sound out of the mouth of the infants & suckyng children. Nether can thei be content tyl thei have uttered their malice & fury, saying to Christ, Master, rebuke thi disciples. But because Christ wil not rebuke the children, but willeth that thei be brought to him, therefore our new *pharisees* rebuke the preachers by casting them into prisons, by making lyes & slanders upon them, & working them al mischief that thei can imagin.

Mat. 11.
Act. 12.
Eph. 4.

Mat. 24.

p. 316.

And thes are our holy fathers, & priests of our mother the holy catholick chirche, which have procured the forbidding of the scripture among the people. Wel !
 Mat. 15. let them alone, they are blind, & leaders of the blind.
 2 Pet. 2. It is trewth that S. Petre said, " 'Thei fome owt their
 Dan. 9. awn shame. He that readeth the abominacyon stand-
 Mar. 13. ing in the holy place, & the mystery of iniquity
 2 Thess. 2. wrought by the son of perdition, let hym now per-
 ceeyve, & se, & understand. But be thou of a good
 hert, & strong cowrage in the Lord ; which sealethe
 the seas, & poynteth the waves their limytes, how far
 thei shal flow, & where their surges shal burst within
 themselves. For when men hold their peace, the
 stones shal cry. So invincible is Gods trewth, that
 the domb elements must first confes yt, or be sup-
 pressed. And as it is impossible to cover the son,
 but yt wil arise & shine over al the erth, so it is im-
 possible to lett the course of the gospel, but it shal
 ever, when God wil have it, come furth, & appere in
 the harts of men, & prosper in those things, wherunto
 God doth send it.

- I. Now forasmuch as many wondre what they lay to my charge, you shal know, that first, afor the coun-
 1 Joh. 5. cel, was laid to me certayn textes in a litle boke of the x commandments. The texts are these: " Babes, kepe your selves from images." This text thei lay to my charge as an heresy ; that I wolde destroy al ymages. But this is my mynd of images : I think that christen men owght not to worship them, nor serve them. Whether they may be in the temples of christen men, or no, there are dyvers opinions, but al men agree, that they may not be worshipped. A gret occasion of slaundre hath come by them not only to infidels, Jews, & Turks : but they have been the cause, that many honest men have bene murdered by antichrist & his chapleyns thorow the whole world : and whether other abhominatyons have chanced by them, read the 13 & 14 of the boke of Wisdom.
- II. Another article propounded against me is, That I

said Christ shal, at the day of judgment, reward onli of mercy, & not our meryts. This article is right falsely gathered owt of my sermon in S. Stephens-day. Wherin when I had declared what the law of God requireth of us, & how unperfect al our rightwysness is, & had moved al men to set hand upon rightwysnes of faith in Jesu Christ; shewing that he is the perfection of the law to al that beleve; I exhorted to such good works as are required by the law of God. Shewing by the scripture, that though al our works are unable to stond in the judgment of Christ, & for their dignytie, to require the immortal glory: yet God of his rich mercy wold for Christ & in Christ, accept them as perfect & welpleasing, & reward them with the crown of immortal glory. And in this declaring, I recyted a saying of S. Austen, which is this: "Thou, O God, shalt save them (saith David) for nothing. What is this, Thou shalt save them for nothing? Thou findest in them nothing, wherby thou mayest save them, & yet dost thou save them. Freely thou givest, freely thou savest. Thou goest before al meryts, that thy gifts may obtayn thy meryts. Utterly dost thou give freely, save freely; which findest nothing wherof thou mayest save, & findest much, wherof thou mayest condempn." And agein; "Thou hast done no good, & yet is remission of sins given unto thee. Let the works be looked upon, & thei be found al evyl. If God shuld geve thee that which is dew to thy works, he shuld surely dampn thee. But he giveth not the pain dew, but giveth thee grace which is not dew." And again, "When God crowneth the meryts, he crowneth nothing but his own gifts. For the Psalmist saith, He crowneth thee with mercy & loving kindnes." p. 317.

But thes texts & sayings of the doctors sounded so in the ears of one Hoggard, that, according to his name, he swynishly hath accused me: this is myne opinion of good works. Those are good works that the scripture of God alloweth for good. That is, al that tend to the glory of God, & to the profit of our Good works.

Luc. 17.

christen brother. Thes works ought every christen man to apply with al his power : and yet knowledging the imperfectnes of this lyfe to say, as Christ teacheth, *We are unprofitable servants*. Notwithstanding ther remaineth much reward to those works; forasmuch as God by Christ accepteth them as perfect, & crowneth them, not for their awn dignity, but for the dignity of Christ, in whom thei are accepted. And wold to God al that profess Christ in tonge & word, wold study to excel in good works in dede & trewth : & then might they assuredly loke for the reward of God, rewarder of al goodnes. But we cry out, & wil have no less then hevin for our works; which yet are such, as nether are commaunded of God, & nothing at al profit our neibour. We esteem him an holy one that every day heareth a mas or twayn : yet wil he not gretly stick to ly, forswere, disteyne & beguyle his neibour. He that eateth no eggs on the Friday is owned to fast wel; but the same shal with his virulent & adders tonge, devoure & eat his brother by backbyting. Another seameth to have perfect holines for saying over his beads; yet shal the same be nother affraid, like an Hoggard, to persecute & accuse even of heresie his christen brother, & with his lyes & slanderous tonge embrew his hands with bloud of innocents. Such was the holines of the old pharisees, to tyth mint & annett: but the weighty matters of the law, judgment, faith & mercy they overpassed.

Mat. 23.

So our new pharisees invent every one his awn phantasie to be good works, but the good works assigned & commaunded of God, they not once so much loke for it. And whensoever this their hypocrisie is a litil towched, then begin thes godly ones, to breath out their firy charitie, & cannot rest in quiet tyl thei have accomplished their nature, & murdered their pore brother Abel. Oh! hypocrisie! O! devilish dissimulation! O! fained sanctitie! Double iniquity! With what face, countenance & chere canst thou lift up thy hands to God, the fowntayn of

p. 318.

Loke on
Chrysos-
tom, in the
89 Hom.
Of prayer.

goodnes, seing thy mynd overfloweth so with malignity and mischefe? How askest thou mercy of God, that nourishest such crueltie ageynst thy brother? How darest thou approach to God which giveth benefits to the unworthy & unkind, when thou art so ungentil & ful of wickednes, to work mischefe & evil to him, that studiously seeketh to do al men good & profit? How wilt thou drink, nay once come nere to drink the bloud of the testament, which dost nothing else but imagyne how to shed the bloud of thy neibour? Oh! pharisee, hypocrite, seak first judgement, faith & mercy, & make clean that which is within, & so shalt thou be sure to please God. He *seketh judgment*, that cometh into the consideration of his awn conscience, & ther deliteth with the law of God, & tryeth & examineth al his words & dedes. And he that thus doth, shal have smal pleasure in his awn rightwysnes, nor no gret lust to crake of his awn deserts or meryts. He shal rather confes the saying of David to be trew; "Lord, no lyving creature A place of Matthew expounded, chap. 23. shal be justified in thi sight." And as Job saith, "If he wil contend with me, I cannot answer one for a thousand." Ps. 142.

But that men stick so sore to their awn meryts, it is an evident token that such never yet knew the law, nor felt the condemnation of it in their consciences: which whoso fealeth, shal soon cast down his peacock taile that before he spred, & so much gloried in. To *seak faith*, is to do al things after the word of God: which whoso doeth, shal be assured in his conscience, that his work pleaseth God. But he that goeth about to please God by his awn dreams & imaginations, without the word, the same can never be satisfied, nor certainly persuaded, that he pleaseth God, but stil evermore doubteth & wavereth in mynd, whether he pleaseth God or no. Which what is it else but unfaithfulnes & sin? If Heb. 10, 11. this faith were sowght for among men, they doubtles Rom. 14. would be more earnestly bent to do the works commanded of God, & not so redy to destroy those, that

- godly rebuketh hypocrisie & wickednes of the world.
- Luc 6. He *seaketh mercy*, that considereth the gret mercies of God, shewed hym of God, & studyeth to be merciful, as the heavenly Father is merciful. He that doth this, seketh not to murder his brother, but rather to save his life; not to empoverish & beggar him, but rather to mayntain his substance & welth.
1. Pet. 4. He that doth thus, seaketh not how to slaundre, backbyte, betray & falsely accuse his neiboure, but as Christ hath covered his faults, so spredeth he furth charitie to his brother, & covereth his faults with charitie, which hydeth the multitude of sins. Briefly, the man that seaketh this mercy is ful of bowels of pity, gentilnes, mildnes, patience, & long suffering; he is even another Christ to his neibour, doth good to al men, & hurt to no man, & evermore seaketh not his awn, but that which pleaseth Jesu Christ. And as for glorying in his awn merits & works, he cannot but acknowledgeth the saying of the apostel
1. Cor. 4. to be trew, "What hast thou but thou hast received it? Yf thou receyvedst it, why boostest thou as though thou receyvedst it not?" And ageine, "Let him that boosteth, boost in the Lord."
1. Cor. 1.
- III.
p. 319. There was laid ageinst me another article of Hoggard; thus. He said al mens traditions shal be plucked up by the rote, as Christ saith, "Every plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted, shal be plucked up by the rote." This article, said the Bishop of Sarum, is anabaptistical. Wel, let it be what ye wil. I nether so spake, nor thought; but I said thus indede, Al mens traditions contrary to the law of God, & to the doctrine of Christs trewth, shal be plucked up by the rote. For so hath Christ said, "Every plant that my heavenly Father planted not, shal be plucked up by the rotes." And God hath so wrought even before our eyes, that we may se this every day more & more fulfilled. The abolishing of the Romain bishop, the throwing down of abbays, the destruction of sects, the putting away of pelting pardons, & the roting out of famous idols,
- Mat. 15.

teach plainly, that hevin & erth may pass, but the word of God shal not pas.

The residue of al the Romain impostures must needs fall, though al the papists wold set to their shuldres, & lift & undreprop til thei burst. And this I say to you in the word of the Lord, that the day wil come, when the very rote of al popery, even your masses, wil be plucked up by the rote; & al the world shal know how shamefully ye abuse the holy supper of the Lord, & how now like tyrants ye be in persecuting & burning pore men. In that day wil your shaven crown, the charact & mystery of iniquity cease, according to the saying of Daniel, "Cum venerit sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio vestra." And then it shal be *evangelical* to preach, "Every plant that the hevinly Father hath not planted, shal be plucked up by the rotes:" and not, as the Bishop of Sarum saith, *anabaptistical*. For then shal ye no more be called *lords*; & al your pomp & power wil have such a fal, as al the world shal wondre at the sodeyn destructyon of Babylon, & at the fal of the shameless idol Baal, & his shaven chapleyns. And as ye have brewed to others, so shal the Lord brew to you a bytter sore cup, & avenge upon you the bloud of al rightwyse, that ye have shed from the beginning. In that day the Lord wil shew mercy upon his church of England, & wil give them shephards according to his wil, that shal teach them the scripture, & not forbid it them. Even such bishops as are written of in Pauls Epistles. Then shal your
Note this, for yt wil come to pass, & that shortly.
1. Tim. 3.
unpure chastity be known to be a filthy, wicked & detestable kind of *sodomitical* buggerie, & an whole sea of whoredom and unclennes. Then shal wedlock be honorable among al men, & the bed therof holy, pure & undefiled. And shameful whoredom shal be banished owt of Gods ministers, & owt of al good & honest company, & not once able to shew her whorish face. Lord Jesu arise, & accomplish this shortly. Let not antichrist & his chapleyns prevail any longer. O Lord, judg thou them, & destroy

thou them; for their pride is come up to the hevin.

They have a saying, "*Malum benè collocatum non est dimovendum.*" An evil wel placed is not to be removed." This appereth to be the saying of some such, as said to Paul, "Let us do evil that good may come therof." But let al such take heed what Paul testifieth of such, *Their damnation*, saith he, *is rightwyse*. But by this it appereth, that they themselves think their popery to be nowght, evil & wicked; yet it may not be towched, because it is wel placed. O hypocrites, & placers of iniquity! which wil worship, I think, the devil himself, if he were wel placed. Is this the cure of a bishop, to suffre an evil wel placed? How agreeth evil with the holy church of God? Cal ye that *wel placed*, that standeth in the dispite of God, in the blasphemy & dishonor of his name, in the contempt of his gospel & word? God said to Hieremy, "I have appointed thee over nations & kingdomes, that thou shuldest pluck vp by the rotes, & destroy, & throw down, & build, & plant." This is the office of a trew bishop, to pluck up *malum bene collocatum*, & not only to remove it, but utterly to destroy it. And to place instead of yt the holy word of God. Which as it is the moost precious treasure that ever was; so at this day (the more pytie) it is but slenderly placed. Wel, you wil not dimove that evil wel placed: but the day wil come, that he that holdeth seven starrs in his right hand, & walketh among the seven golden candlesticks, wil come swiftly, & remove your candlestick from his place, except ye repent. And then your *evil wel placed* shal come to nowght, & perish with the workers of it. Yet when that day cometh, remembre, that I, whom you murdered, gave you warning how you might escape that daunger.

There cam in against me one Sir John Massy, & toke his oth devoutly, that he wold testify but trewth, & al trewth. What he layd to my charge, I know

Rom. 3.

The papists know their popery to be nowght.
p. 320.

Hier. 1.

Apo. 2.

not. Thes are al the matters they have ageinst me, * Yet I herde of it now. D. Register old accusations layd to my charge two yeres agoe, & as truly gathered then ageinst me as the mine adversaries have gathered now. Notwithstanding the Bishop of London then swore by his baptism I shuld never more here of yt.*

The article then ageinst me was of *free wil*. That I shuld then have said, *A man hath no free wil to do good*. This I said, & say agein, That a man by the powre & strength of his awn free wil only, is not able ether to do good, or to think good. But that he may do & think, & long to do ony thing good afore God, the H. Goost must come & create a new hert, & governe him into al trewth. Thou art created, healed & saved. Which of all thes hast thou of thy self, O man? Which of al these ys not impossible for thy free wil? Man could not create himself before he was made, nor redeme hymself when he was fallen; nor yet can he conserve & kepe himself after he is redemed. "Kepe me, O Lord," saith David, "for my trust is in thee." Ageine, "The Lord kepeth thee: the Lord is thy protection, better than thy right hand." IV.

Another article, "That I spake ageinst the invocation & praying to saints." As for invocatyon, which is to desire some good thing that we have nede of to be given us, or that some evil thing, that greveth us, to be taken away from us; this is the work of the third commandment, & so pertayneth to God, that it is not to be given to ony creature in hevin & erth. Saynts of God are right hyly to be prayسد, & their lyvings to be followed. Which the hypocrits litel regarde. And to desire them to pray with us & for us, I think it after a maner tolerable. But he that never prayeth to them is never the farther from God, so he lean & pray to Christ, in whose name & not in the saints, we are commanded to make our prayers. But what a preposterous hypocrisy of holines is this, to make so much prating V.

Joh. 14,
15, 16.
Chrys. in
Mat. cap.
23.

p. 321. of worshipping saints, & to despise the holines that the saints had in their lyving? To magnify the prophets that are dead, & to persecute the prophets that are alyve? To laud & extol the apostels, & to condemn them for heretiques, that teach the apostels doctrine? Cal ye this worshipping of saynts? “Wo to you, scribes & pharisees, hypocrites, that gilde the sepultures & monuments of saints, saying, Yf we had bene in our fathers dayes, we wold not have bene their felowes in the bloudshede of the prophets. Thus ye witnes, that ye are their children that slew the prophets. Fulfill you also the measure of your fathers. You serpents, adders-fry, how wil ye escape the judgment of God?”

Col. 3. I besech thee, gentil reader, “Cloth thyself, as an elect of God, a saint & beloved, with bowels of pitye, & kind hert, gentilnes, modesty, & humilitie, patience, long-suffring & charitic, peace, goodly joy, liberalite, faith, meakness, & temperancy.” As for praying to the dead saints thou art not commanded, nor counseled in the scripture. But to have thes
 Lev. 19. vertues God commanded, saying, *Be ye holy, as I*
 1. Pet. 1. *am holy.* The unction of God, which teacheth al things, shal also teach you what is best, according to the wil of God. To whom I commend thee.

VI. *Item,* Another article. “He spake against censing in the church, & other ceremonies, & against organs, calling them poping; wherfore what should ye do with them?”

Al the care is to maynteyn & uphold ceremonies, images & singing, & playing on organs. But as for Gods word preaching or reding, they care not at al. Thei are like to a nurse, that taketh away an apple from a child, & eateth it herself, & because the child shuld not cry, she giveth it a puppet of clowts to dandle with. Even so thei have taken away the word of God; & because the people shuld not require it agein, they have such stuff in the place of it as is agreable for such pastours. But let al hypocrites know, that like as no christen man but allow-

eth al goodly ceremonies, & that are done in an ordre to edifying, having thes significations declared owt of Gods word ; so nether I, nor none that love God, can allow that the people of God shuld be blindly & ignorantly noseled in ceremonious superstition, without their dew instruction to godlynes. And as psalmes, hymnes, & spiritual songs owght to be songe to the Lord in our herts, & all spirits must prayse God ; so dowbtles it is nothing commendable, but utterly to be reproved, that the people shal come to the churches, & tary there three or four hours, & have nothing tawght them of God, or of his word, but only here a noise in a forayne tonge, that unneth the singers themselves understand. Thus did I speak ageynst your singing, piping, censing, & al other your popery don without fruit, to the dishonor of God, to the hindrance of his word, to the mayntenance of al hypocritical superstition & papistry.

Another article. *Item*, “ He spake against trental masses, saying, thei profit not sowles departed.” This article, I think, thei take for my greatest heresie. For indede this wringeth their god-belly, that his eyes water for pain. Yt is now tyme to loke about, when that *golden trental* is towched. This *trental* is the main post that upholdeth al the house. Wel, I wil deal gently with you, because when this were gone, a gret many of you might begg. For ye can nether preach nor teach, nor do ony other good work to get your living. And when ye have proved the history of S. Gregories mother to be trew, then wil I allow you S. Gregories trental. In the mean season I wil exhort al that profes the name of Jesu Christ, that they so lyve in this lyfe in the fear of God, & works of his commandments, that at their deth thei neade not your trental. For sure if thei do, I am afraid they shal purge a good while in hel, or your trental wil help them.

There was sent for into Essex one Mr. Leswel, who herd me preach upon Ester Tuesday was two yere. This man brought in a byl of report upon my

VII.

p. 322.

VIII.

sermon as here foloweth. “Syr Robert Wisdome exhorteth his parishners to take the scripture in their hands, when thei met together on the Sondayes & holydayes at the alehouse, & to talk, & commune, & reason of yt.” This article I preached & so tawght indeede. This is no heresy. Yea, but said my Lord of London, when thei are drunken thei shal unreverently handle the scripture, & much mischief may come by yt. I answer, I therfore exhorted them to have the scripture in their hands, that remembring the fear of God, thei might abstain from excess & dronkenschap. Nether is it the talking of the scripture, that bredeth ony evil, but the mischevous & malicious herts of papists & hypocrites, that cannot abide the scripture. Their owlsh eyes wil not suffer them to abide the light. Their works are evil, & they wil not come to the light, lest theyr works shuld be rebuked. But if sometime perchance evil happen among them that have the word of God present, what mischief, abhomination, blasphemies, detractions, slandres, backbyting, rybaldry, filthy communication, unclean gestures, uncheritable rayling, horrible othes, & such other mischief wil be among them that have not Gods words among them! What is the cause of so many dronkards, so much pride, that men set so much by themselves, & so litil by God, that they are so covetous, so puffed up, such shameful hypocrites, such horrible swerers, so cursed tonged, so disobedient to their parents, so unthankful, so ungodly, & unnatural, such brekers of promise & covenants, such raylers, so intemperate, so cruel, so neglecting al goodnes, such traitors & so falseherted to their prince, so heady in al mischief, so blowen up, such flatterers & lyars, such folowers of beastly lusts, rather than the love of God? Surely nothing else, but that thei have throwen from them the word of God, & there is no wisdom in them.

Joh. 3.

These are
the frutes
of such as
hate Gods
word.

It is seditious to rede the scripture, but to talk of whordom, of filthines, of craft, mischief & al ungodlines, doth no hurt at al, say our hypocrites. But I

must needs be an heretick for exhorting them to the reading of the scripture, & thei catholicks that condemn the scripture. To talk of Christs deth, cros, passion, resurrection, is seditious: to talk of uncleannes, & such filthines as infecteth the very air, is not only tolerable, but also laudable. I preached it even so, & I repent it not: make on it what yee please.

Another. *Item*, he said, "I trust to God to see the day, that maydes wil sing the scripture at their wheles, & plowmen at their plow." I thank God, thorow my Lord Jesu Christ, I have sene that day, & I know husbandmen & men of occupation at this day, as wel seen or better in the scriptures then a gret many of priests, yea then some that were heads, & are called *Rabbi*, & Master Doctor, at every word. The name of God be blessed for it.

Item, he said, "We have a lyving Christ, & not a Christ of clowts." This I said, say, & wil say; my Lord Jesu Christ is risen from the death, & lyveth, & reyneth Lord & King in the glory of his Father, world without end; able to save, kepe, maintayne & defend al his servants from sin, deth, devil, despair, hel & damnatyon, & from al evils bodily & gostly; & he is al good, & wil work al things to their salvatyon that trust in him. And he is able to destroy & punish al his adversaries with al maner of plagues in their bodies, & with everlasting damnatyon in their sowles. And surely so wil he do except thei repent the soner, & ask for mercy. Thei shal know right wel, that he is nothing pleased with their shameful hypocrisy, & glistering superstition, nor with the abhominatyon that reygne in this myserable & wretched world. Thei shal not find him a Christ of clowts, one that cannot do the office of God. But as he is God indede, so shal al the wicked feal his mighty hand & powre, except thei repent. For he shal deliver them unto wrath, indignatyon, tribulaton, & perpetual anguysh & damnatyon, that shal come up on the sowle of al that work iniquitie. I trust ye wil let this stand for trewth til another yere.

p. 323.
IX.

X.
Ro. 6.
Phil. 2.
Eph. 1.

Ro. 8.

2. Thes. 1.

Ro. 2.

XI. *Item*, he said, that "Sowles departed do not come again & walk, & play bo-peap with us." I said so indede. What is then to be said to such apparitions as many one have seen in our days?

2. Thes. 2. Surely nothing but the words of S. Paul; "Forasmuch as men receyved not the love of trewth, that they might be saved, God shal send among them strong illusions, that they may beleve lyes: that thei al may be judged that beleved not the trueth, but approved unrightwysnes." We be wonderous careful for dead saints, for dead mens apperings; but that
 Luc. 16. God commaunded, we seek nothing for. "They have (said Christ) Moses & the prophets, let them hear them." Nay, say we, the dead gosts walk, & we will have an one or other Sir John to conjure them. And then the puling sely goost must have pilgrimage to this place, or that place, & thus many trental masses, & masses of *scala cæli*, &c. And to blind the eyes of men, he requireth almesse to some convent of monks & friers, &c. But thanks to God, ever since the word of God came in, thei neither be herd nor sene.

As concerning the place whither the spirits of men depart, the scripture saith, that al rightwyse shal be with Christ, & the wicked shal be dampned from the face of God, & the glory of his saynts.
 Pro. 14. "When the ungodli man dieth, there shal be no more recovery, *or hope*, for him, & the loking of those that are careful for him shal perish. The rightwyse man shal be delyvered from payne, *or sorow*.
 Joan. 3. He that beleveth in Christ is not judged, but he that beleveth not is judged alredy. Because he beleved not in the name of the only Son of God." Agein, "He that beleveth the Son hath eternal lyfe: but he that beleveth not the Son, shal not se life, but the wrath of God continueth upon him." And
 p. 324. S. Austin saith, "After this life ther arc two dwelling places, one in the everlasting fire, another in the everlasting kingdom." Ageine he saith, "First, surely the catholique faith, by the divine auctoritie,

De Verb.
 Ap. Serm.
 18.

Cont.
 Pelag. Hypog.
 lib. 5.

beleveth that ther is the kingdom of hevin; from whence, as I have said, he that is not baptized is excepted. Secundly, that ther is hel, where every one that forsaketh Christ, or els that is not of the faith of Christ, fealeth by experience that ther are punishments." As for the third place we are utterly ignorant of it; neither find we in the scriptures that there is ony such. Belike therfore this *purgatory* began since S. Austines days, when men were more studious to seak such dead holynes, than S. Austine was: whose care was to instruct with reding, preaching & exhorting men in this life, & not to mass them, & trental them, when they be dead.

I exhort therfore al christen men, lyve godly in this life, & loke for the life to come with Christ. And when ony christen man dieth, commend his body to the erth with honest christen burial, & his sowle to God with psalmes & devout prayers, with almes dedes; which, as Chrysostom saith, shal much profit him, & be an ornament to him in the holy resurrection. In Joan.
cap. 19.

Item, "That one of us ought to bere anothers burthen. As in the body the bonys strengthen & maintayn the flesh." This is S. Pauls doctrin, Rom. 15. Gal. 6. Ephe. 4. Col. 3. And S. Petre, 1 Pet. 4. And S. Joan, 1 Joan. 3. And S. James, Jac. 2. 3. And S. Jude, 1. XII.

Item, He said, "That there was no difference of meats: but that a man might eat al meats at al tymes." This article he falsely layeth to my charge. Although by the scripture it is trew, nevertheles because of politique ordre, I wold have men not be heady upon flesh at such times as yt is forbydden them. "The kingdom of hevin is not meat & drink, but rightwisnes, & peace & joy in the Holy Goost." XIII.
And certayn, those that thus serve God are accepted afore him. And as they are blameworthy, that without a reasonable nead, breke the publick order; so are thei as much to be rebuked, that have their consciences so marked with the iron of scrupulous Ro. 14.
1. Tim. 4.

superstition, that thei wil not tast an egg for an C pound upon the Friday, or in Lent; no, though the king by proclamatyon licence his subjects so to do. Such hypocrites wil not stick to slandre, backbyte, falsely accuse, & seke ther brothers bloud; & to poll & pill ther neibours, & to begile them. Where in very dede of thes things shuld thei have conscience, & not of that which entreth into the mouth & belly, & is cast owt into the draught. " Christen men (saith Austin) kepe two fasts at once: that is, abstaining the body from meat, & the sowl from wrath, fury, detraction, & blasphemy & brawling. For, as we have before shewed, thes are the deadly meats, or rather poysons to the sowl, that feedeth it into evil, & kil it with death everlasting." And Origen saith, " Wilt thou that I shal shew thee what fast thou art bound to fast? Fast from al yll dedes. Fast from ill words: abstene from evil thowghts.

Mat. 15.

De Salut.
Document.
cap. 48.In—Hom.
10.cap.16.The cause
of al this
matter,
envy.
p. 325.*Hereford,
who then
was Boner.

Thus have you all the matters, both new & old, that are layd unto me. But yet ther is one, that is the special & only cause of al my troble, that is, the gret envy that myne adversaries had, that the people so followed me, when I preached. For the Bishop of Harford* said, that it was not for nowght, that so gret resort was to my sermons, rather than to other, better lerned than I, that had not half the audience. It is, seid he, a token that ye teach some private doctrin, & not as al other do. I answered, that (I called) God & my conscience to witnes, I taught never other than that the scripture of God teacheth. And that have I ever taught to the best of my wyt & connynge. And that it pleased God to move their herts to come, & to give me grace to edify them with his word, I do hartily thank God for yt.

This indede is the very only cause of my punishment. It greved them to se the people so drawen to here me; & I never wold in my sermons teach such beggery & trash as some of them teach. And " loe! (said thei) yee se that we profect nothing at

Joan. 12.
& 11.

al. Loe! al the world goeth after him. What shal we do? This fellow hath an exceding audience. Yf we let him alone thus, al wil beleve him. And so the council concluded that I must ly by the heles. Wel, thanks to God for his holy hand, & merciful chastisement. And the blessed wil of God be don in me both in life & deth, Amen, & thanks to God.

Now, gentil reder, I beseche thee, be strong in Eph. 6. the Lord, & in the power of his strength. Arme Ps. 1. thee with the armour of God, & studiously apply the study of Gods scripture, night & day, that thou mayst be a fruitful olive tree in the house of the Lord. Pray continually unto the Lord, & without Ps. 92. cissing. Desire his mercy to send furth workmen 2. Thes. 5. into his heruest, & to open the dore of faith, that Mat. 9. his holy word may yet once have free passage. And pray for me, that al the wil of God may be perfectly don in me, that I may have strength in his spirit, that God may be glorified in me. And yf it be the Phil. 1. Lords pleasure, that I may be delyvered from this hel, as I trust to be, the rather for your prayers. Let al your conversation be such as becometh the Eph. 5. children of light, in al sobrietic, rightwisnes & godli- Tit. 2. nes; as ye have ever be taught by the holy gospel of Christ. And as I have ever admonished & warned you, walk wisely, because of such as yet are es- Col. 3. tranged from the trewth; & redeme the tyme, for the dayes are evil. Let your words & talk be evermore powdered with grace, & beware what ye speake, & to whom. Do good to al men, especially to such Gal. 6. as are of the houshold of faith: knowing, what you Mat. 25. do to the littil ones, you do it to Christ. Salute 2. Cor. 13. one another with the holy kiss. This is my salutation to al that love the Lord Jesu unfainedly. Peace Eph. 6. be to the brethren, & love with faith, from God the Father, & the Lord Jesu Christ. The grace of our Lord Jesu Christ be with you al, Amen.

Sent from Lollards Towre by Robert Wisdome, prisoner of Jesu Christ.

p. 326.

NUMBER CXVI.

Edicta Stephani Vintoniensis Episcopi, Cancellarij Cantabrigiensis, de pronuntiatione linguæ Græcæ & Latinæ.

Joann.
Cheki, De
Pronun-
tiatione.

STEPHANUS Wintoniensis Episcopus, Academia Cantabrigiensis Cancellarius, cum meâ tum senatus universi auctoritate legitima, rogatione ad me delata quid in literarum sonis, ac linguæ tum Græcæ tum Latinæ pronuntiatione, spectandum, seqendum, tenendum, sic itaq; edico :

Quisquis nostram potestatem agnoscis, sonos, literis sive Græcis sive Latinis, ab usu publico præsentis seculi alienos, privato iudicio affingere ne audeto.

Quod vero ea in re major auctoritas edixerit, jusserit, præceperit, id omnes amplectuntor, & observanto.

Diphthongos Græcas, nedum Latinas, nisi id diæresis exigat, sonis ne diducito, neve divellito. Quæsitam usu alteri vocalium prærogativam ne adimito. Sed ut marem fœminæ dominari sinito. Quæ vero earum in communione soni usu convenerunt, ijs tu negotium ne facessito.

Α & ε, ο & ε ab ι sono ne distinguito. Tantum in orthographia discrimen servato. Η, ι, υ uno eodémq; sono exprimito. Cujusq; tamen propriam in orthographia sedem diligenter notato.

In α & γ, quoties cum diphthongis aut vocalibus sonos ι aut ε referentibus consonantur, quoniam a doctis etiamnum in usu variantur, alijs densiorem, alijs tenuiorem sonum affingentibus, utriúsq; pronuntiationis, modum discito: ne aut horum aut illorum aures offendas; néve de sonis litem inutiliter excites. Cæterùm, qui in his sonis a pluribus receptus est, illum frequentato.

B literam ad exemplum nostri Β, ne inspissato, sed ad imitationem V consonantis mollius proferto.

Literas π & τ , item γ & κ , pro loco & situ alios atq; alios sonos adimere memento. Itaq; τ & π , tum demum β , quum proximè locantur hæc post μ , illa post ν , hic locis videlicet litera τ referat nostrum D, π vero B nostrum exprimat.

Litera porro γ cum proxima sedem occupet ante κ , χ , aut aliud γ , huic tu non suum, sed sonum ν literæ accommodato.

Ne multa. In sonis omnino ne philosophator, sed utitor præsentibus. In hijs siquid emendandum sit, id omne authoritati permittito. Publicè vero profiteri quod ab auctoritate sancita diversum, & consuetudine loquendi recepta alienum sit, nefas esto.

Quod hic exprimitur, id consuetudini consentaneum ducito, hactenusq; pareto.

Siquis autem, quod abominor, secus fecerit, & de sonis (re sanè, si ipsam spectes, levicula, si contentiones inde natæ indignitatem, non ferenda) controversiam publicè moverit, aut obstinato animi proposito, receptum a plerisque sonorum modum abrogare aut improbare perrexerit; quive sciens prudens ad hoc data opera, quod hic sancitum est, verbo factove publico, palam contempserit, hunc hominem, quisquis is erit, ineptum omnes habento; & a senatu, siquidem ex eo numero jam fuerit, is qui auctoritati præest, nisi resipuerit, expellito. Inter candidatos verò si sit, ab omni gradu honoris arceto. Ex plebe autem scholarium si fuerit, quum ita haberi id ei commodo esse possit, pro scholari ne censeto. Puerrilem deniq; temeritatem, siquid publicè ausa fuerit, domi apud suos castigari curato.

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Postremò, vicecancellarius & procuratores, quæ hic præscripta sunt, ne contemnantur, neve edicto fraus aliqua fiat, pro modo jurisdictionis singuli, providento.

Ab his siquid adversum hæc admissum sit, aut omissum, mulcta est quam dixerit cancellarius.

In summa, hoc edictum omnes sacrosanctum ita habento, ut nec contumacibus remissum, nec resipientibus severum, esse videatur. Datum Londini 18 calend. Junias, anno Domini 1542.

NUMBER CXVII.

Stephen L. Bishop of Winchester, & chancellor of the University of Cambridge, to Dr. Edmunds, his vicechancellor; reproving the universities neglect in observing Lent : & requiring the observation of the order for pronouncing Greek.

C.C.C.C.
Library,
Miscel.
Cantabr.

MR. Vicechancellor. After my right hearty commendations; yee shal understand I have been advertised, how divers of the regents of that university, who should rule, & be good examples to others, have the Lent last past very dissolutely used themselves in eating of flesh: which fault how it hath been punished here, I am sure, ye have heard: wherein I have been noted a great advancer, & setter forth of that punishment. Which rumour albeit it be not true, & that indeed the kings majesty himself, with the advise of the rest of his councel, did earnestly prosecute, as the effect hath shewed in some that disorder: yet nevertheles because the fault is greater in scholars, than in others, & especially called to the state of regents; I cannot quietly pass over, & neglect this information, having so apparant & manifest truth, as it hath been brought to light sundry wayes, as this bearer can inform you. Unto whom, I pray you, give credence therin. Wherefore, I pray you, travail with me for reformation. Which I would have so used as the matter might be punished without increase of the slander, which might do hurt to the whole university. And therefore I have devised & thought good, that ye should secretly speak with such as be noted faulty, & induceing them to confess their fault, & pay some fine, by your discretion, to be taxed to the use of the university: so to dismiss them without further publishing of their names. Wherin I would ye used such temperance, as the paine were not contemned, ne the party grieved aboute his astate. But I wil have it in any wise punished: for I wil not suffer the university with these dissolute manners to be corrupt. Londs have

not been given, ne lectures founded for any such evil purpose. If the offenders wil have pity of themselves, & their own fame, & so privily & secretly with you submit themselves to punishment, I wil gladly bear with them. But otherwise this charitable way not regarded, I wil procede to an open inquisition, & note the fault where I find it. I am not desirous to know their names, but onely to understand from you, that by payment of the taxation the matter is punished. Wherof, I pray you, certify me as shortly as ye shal have done any thing in it.

The last year, by consent of the whole university, I made an order concerning pronounciation of the Greek tongue, appointing paines to the transgressors, & finally to the vicechancellor, if he saw them not executed. Wherin, I pray you, be persuaded, that I wil not be deluded & contemned. I did it seriously, & I wil maintain it. If you se the transgressors punished, I have cause to be contented: but otherwise I intend in you, & the proctors persons, to use mine authority, given me by the university: wherunto I trust yee wil not enforce me. To be chancellor of the university is onely honor, which by contempt is taken away. And I wil beware to give any man cause to contemn me. What information I have I wil not write: but by that I shal see henceforth, I wil believe that is past. How necessary it is to bridle the arrogance of youth, the experience of your years hath, I doubt not, taught you. And it would much grieve me privately to have any variance with you, with whom I have had so old acquaintance: which cannot be, if ye suffer them not, by toleration to hope more of you, then ye would avow they should.

The kings majesty hath, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, componed al matters of religion: which uniformity I pray God, it may in that, & al others things, extend unto us: & forgetting al that is past, go forth in agreement, as tho there had been no such matter. But I wil withstand fancies even in pronounciation, & fight with the enemies of quiet at the

first entry. Wherefore I pray you, Master Vicechancellor, look earnestly on these matters, & give me cause, by your industry, to rejoyce in the university: & onely to care for acquieting our matters with the town. Wherin, I trust, ye shal have good speed by the grace of God: who send you hartily wel to fare. At the court, 15 May.

Anno
1543.

Your assured loving friend,

STE. WINTON.

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NUMBER CXVIII.

John Lelands Newyears gift to K. Henry, in the 35 year of his reign.

Ex Balæo.

WHEREAS it pleased your highnes, upon very just considerations, to encourage me, by the auctorite of your most gracyous commysion in the xxxv year of your most prosperous reyn, to peruse & dilygentie to search al the lybraries of monasteryes & collegyes of thys your noble realm; to the entent that the monuments of auncyent writers, as wel of other nacyons as of your own provynce, myght be brought out of deadlie darkness to lyve in lyght, & to receyve lyke thanks of their posteritie, as they hoped for at such tyme, as they employed theyr long & great studyes to the publyque wealth: yea, & furthermore, that the holy scripture of God myght be sincerely taught & learned, al maner of superstycyon, & crafty-coloured doctryne of a rowt of Romaine bysshoppes, totally expelled out of this your most catholyque realme: I think it now no less than my very dewtie, brevely to declare to your majestie, what frute have spronge of my laborious journey & costly enterprise, both rooted upon your infynyte goodness & lyberalyte, qualities ryght hyghly to be esteemed in al prynces, & most specyally in yow, as naturally your own wel known proprieties.

First, I have conserved many good authors, the which otherwise had bene lyke to have peryshed, to no smal incommodite of good letters. Of the which,

part remayne in the most magnificent lybraryes of your royal palaces: part also remayne in my custodie. Whereby I trust ryght shortly so to describe your most noble realm, & to publysh the majestie of the excellent acts of your progenitours, hytherto sore obscured, both for lack of emprynting of such works as lay secretly in corners; as also because men of eloquence hath not enterprised to set them fourth in a floryshing style, in some tymes past not cominly used in England of wryters, otherwyse wellearned: & now in such estymacyon, that except truth be delycately clothed in purpure, her wrytten verytees can scant fynd a reader. That al the world shal evydently perceyve, that no particular region may justely be more extolled than yours, for true nobylte & vertues at al poynts renoumed.

Farthermore, part of the exemplaries curiously sought by me, & fortunately found in sondry places of this your domynion, hath bene emprynted in Germany, & now be in the presses chefly of Frobenius: that not alonely the Germans, but also the Italians themself, that count, as the Greeks did ful arrogantly, al other nacyons to be barbarous & unlettered, saving their own, shal have a direct occasion openly of force to say, that "*BRITANNIA prima fuit parens, altrix, addo hoc etiam, & jure quidem optimo, conservatrix, cum virorum magnorum, tum maximè ingeniorum:*" that is, "Britain was the first mother, nurse, & I adde (& that deservedly) maintainer as of great men, so of great wits especially.

And that profyt hath rysen by the aforesaid journey, in brynging ful many thyngs to light, as concerning the usurped autoryte of the Bysshop of Rome & hys complices, to the manifest & vyolent derogacyon of kyngly dygnyte, I referre my self most humbly to your most prudent, lerned, & hygh judgment, to dyscerne my dylygence in the long volume, wherein I have made answer for the defence of your supreme dygnyte, alonely leanyng to the strong pillar of holy scripture, agaynst the whole college of Romanysts, clokyng

their crafty assercyons & arguments undre the name of one poor Pighius of Ultraject in Germany: & standyng to them as to their only ankerhold agaynst tempests that they know wyl aryse, yf truth may be by lycence let in, to have a voyce in the general council.

Yet herein only I have not pytched the supreme work of my labour, whereunto your grace, most lyke a kyngly patron of al good learnyng, did anymate me: but also consyderyng & expendyng with my self, how great a nombre of excellent godly wyts & wryters, learned with the best, as the tymes served, hath bene in this your region; not only at such tymes as the Roman emperors had recourse to it, but also in those days that the Saxons prevayled of the Brytayns, & the Normans of the Saxons; I could not but with a fervent zeale & an honest courage, commend them to memory: els alas! lyke to have bene perpetually obscured, or to have bene lyghtly remembred, as uncerteyn shaddows.

Wherefore I, knowing by infynite varyete of bokes, & assyduous reading of them, who hath bene learned, & who hath wrytten from tyme to tyme in this realm, have digested into four bokes the names of them, with their lyves & monuments of learnyng. And to theym added thys tyle, *de veris illustribus*: following the profytable example of Hierome, Genadie, Cassiodore, Severian, & Tritermie, a late writer. But alway so handlyng the matter, that I have more expatiated in thys camp, than they did, as in a thyng that desyred to be sunwhat at large, & to have ornature. The first boke, begynnyng at the Druides, is deducted unto the tyme of the comyng of S. Augustyne into England. The second is from the tyme of Augustyne unto the advent of the Normans. The third from the Normans to the end of the most honorable reyn of the myghty, famous & prudent Prynce Henry VII. your Father. The fourth begynneth with the name of your majesty, whose glory in learning is to the world so clearly known, that though emong the lyves of other learned men,

I have accurately celebrated the names of Bladudus, Molmutius, Constantinus Magnus, Sigebertus, Alfridus, Alfridus Magnus, Athelstanus, & Henry the first, kyngs & your progenytours: and also Ethelward, second son to Alfride the Great, Humfryd, Duke of Glocester, & Tipetote, Earl of Worcester; yet conferred with your grace, they seem as smal lyghts (yf I may freely say my judgment, your hygh modesty not offended) in respect of the day star.

Now farther to insinuate to your grace, of what matters the writers, whose lyves I have congested into four bokes, hath treated of: I may ryghtly say, that besyde the cognycyon of the four tongues, in the which part of them hath excelled, that there is no kynd of lyberal scyence, or any feat concernyng learnyng, in the which they have not shewed certain arguments of great felycite of wyt. Yea, & concernyng the interpretacyon of holy scripture, both after the auneynt form, & synce the scholastical trade, they have reygned as in a certayn excellency. And as touching historical knowledg, there hath bene to the nombre of a ful hundreth or mo, that from tyme to tyme, hath, with great dylygence, & no less fayth, wold to God with lyke eloquence, prescribed the acts of your most noble predecessors, & the fortunes of this your realm so incredybly great, that he that hath not seen, & throughly redd their works, can lytle pronounce in thys part.

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Wherefore, after that I had perpended the honest & profytable studyes of these hystoryographers, I was totally enflamed with a love to se throughly al those parts of thys your opulent & ample realm, that I had redd of in the aforesayd wryters. Inso-much that al my other occupacyons intermytted, I so travayled in your domynyons, both by the sea coasts, & the myddle parts, sparyng neyther labour nor costs, by the space of these six years past, that there is almost neyther cape nor bay, haven, creke or pere, ryver or confluence of ryvers, breches, washes, lakes, meres, fenny waters, mountaynes, valleys,

mores, hethes, forests, woods, cityes, burghs, castels, pryncypal manor-places, monasteries & colleges, but I have seen them; & noted in so doing a whole world of thyngs very memorable.

Thus instructed, I trust shortly to se the tyme, that like as Carolus Magnus had, among his tresures, thre large & notable tables of silver rychly enabled, one of the syte & description of Constantynople, another of the syte & figure of the magnificent cyty of Rome, & the thyrde of the descripcion of the world; so shal your majestie have thys your world & impery of England so set fourth in a quadrate table of sylver, yf God send me lyfe to accomplish my begynnyng, that your grace shal have ready knowledg at the fyrst syght, of many right delectable, fruteful, & necessary pleasures, by contemplacion therof, as often as occasyon shal move you to the syght of it. And because that it may be more permanent & farther known, than to have it engraven in sylver or brass, I entend, by the leave of God, within the space of twelve monthes following, such a descripcion to make of your realm in wryting, that it shal be no mastery after, for the graver or painter to make the lyke by a perfect example.

Yea, & to wade further in thys matter, wheras now almost no man can wel guesse at the shaddow of the aunicyent names of havens, ryvers, promontories, hills, woods, cyties, townes, castels, & varyete of kynds of people, that Cesar, Livy, Strabo, Diodorus, Fabius Pictor, Pomponius Mela, Plinius, Cornelius Tacitus, Ptolomeus, Sextus Rufus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Solinus, Antoninus, & dyvers other make mencyon of; I trust to open this wyndow, that the lyght shal be seen so long, that is to say, by the space of a whole thousand years stopped up, & the old glory of your renoumed Britaine to reflorish through the world.

This don, I have matter at plenty already prepared to this purpose, that is to say, to wryte an hystory; to the which I entend to adscribe this title; *De Antiquitate Britannica*, or els, *Civilis Historia*.

And this work I entend to divide into so many bokes, as there be sheres in England, & shyres & great domynions in Wales. So that I esteme that this volume wyl enclude a fyfty books. Wherof each one severally shal contayn the begynnyngs, encreases & memorable acts of the chief townes & castels of the provynce allotted to it.

Then I entend to dystribute into syx bokes such matter as I have already collected, concernyng the isles adjacent to your noble realm, & undre your subjection. Wherof three shal be of these isles, Vecta, Mona, & Menavia, sometime kingdoms.

And to superadd a work as an ornament, & a ryght comely garland, to the entrepryses aforesayd, I have selected stuff to be distributed into three bokes; the which I purpose thus to entyle, *De Nobilitate Britannica*. The fyrst shal declare the names of kings & quenes, with theyr chyldren, dukes, earles, lords, captaynes, & rulers in this realm, to the comyng of the Saxons & their conquest. The second shal be of the Saxons & Danes, to the victory of Kyng Wylliam the Great. The thyrd from the Normans to the reygyn of your most noble grace, descendyng lyneally of the Brytayne, Saxon, & Norman kings. So that al noble-men shal clerely perceyve theyr lyneal parental.

Now yf it shal be the pleasure of Almyghty God, that I may lyve to perfourm these thyngs that be already begon, & in a great forwardness, I trust that thys your realm shal so wel be known, ones paynted with hys natyve colours, that the renoum therof shal geve place to the glory of no other regyon. And my great labours & costs, procedyng from the most habundaunt fountayn of your infinite goodness towards me, your pore scholar & most humble servaunt, shal be evydently seen to have not onely pleased, but also profyted the studyous, gentyl & equal reders. This is the brief declaration of my *laborious journey*, taken by mocyon of your hyghnes, so much studying at al hours about the fruteful preferment of good letters & aunecyent vertues.

NUMBER CXX.

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Catalogus tractatum ac fæderum cum Ferdinando Hispano, cum Cæsare, & Rege Gallo, a Rege Henrico VIII. initorum, seriatim, dispositus.

I. Cum Ferdinando Rege Castellæ.

Anno reg. Henrici VIII. 2^{do}.

Annoq; Dom. 1510.

TRACTATUS pacis & ligæ Ferdinandi Reg. & Jo-
annæ Regin. Castellæ cum Henrico Rege Angliæ.
Westmonast. E. Bibli-
oth. Cot-
ton. Cali-
gula, E. 1.

Confirmatio tractatus ligæ & pacis Reg. Ferdi-
nandi & Reginæ Castellæ. Westm.

Commissio Ferdinandi Reg. Castellæ ad tractand.
Pacem cum Reg. Hen. VIII. 6. Januarij. Westm.

II. Cum Cæsare.

Anno reg. Henrici VIII. 2^{do}.

Annoq; Dom. 1510.

Confirmatio tractatus pacis fact. per Cæsarem
Maximilianum cum Henr. VIII. Rege Anglæ. Dat.
12. Octobr. Westmon.

Anno reg. Henrici VIII. 5^{to}.

Annoq; Dom. 1513.

Tractatus Pacis & ligæ inter oratores serenissimi
pontificis, imperatoris, Henr. 8. Reg. Angliæ, & Regis
Hispaniæ conclus. Dat. - - - 1513.

Quoddam Fædus de Matrimonio contrahendo in-
ter Carolum principem Hispaniarum, & Mariam so-
rorem Reg. Henrici, incipiens Maximilianus, &c.
15. Nov.

Confirmatio tractatus amicitie inter Maximilia-
num imperatorem, & Henricum VIII.

Acquietantia Maximiliani imperatoris de receptione 100000 coronarum auri de rege Hen. VIII.

Confessio de receptione 3000 coronarum auri per Anthonium Faucunbergh dnum. de Ligne, 27. Maij.

Quidam tractatus habitus in oppid. insularum, dat. 16. Octobr. incipiens *Nos Margareta, &c.*

Confirmatio tractatus Maximiliani imperatoris cum Hen. VIII.

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Ratificatio certorum articulorum conclusorum inter Maximilianum imperatorem Romanor. Henric. VIII. & Ferdinand. reg. Arragoniæ. Dat. London. in castro Bernardi 18. April.

Confirmatio tractatus habiti in oppid. insularum die 17. Octob. inter Maximilianum imperatorem & regem Angliæ & regem Arragoniæ. Dat. 17. Octobr.

Juramentum Ludovici Carroze pro parte Ferdinand. regis Arragoniæ, & regin. Castellæ, quod benè & fideliter observabunt tractatum amicitiae, & singula capitula in eodem tractatu content. cum illustriss. Hen. 8. reg. Angliæ. Dat. London. in castro Bernardi, 18. Apr.

Anno regis. Henrici VIII. 13^o.

Annoq; Dom. 1521.

Requisitio Caroli imperatoris Henrico VIII. reg. Angliæ fact. pro observatione fœderis inter ipsos habit. contra Franciscum Gallorum regem.

Transumptum tractatus pacis init. & fact. inter Carolum imperatorem electum, & Francorum regem Calisijs 1521. mediante reverend^{mo}. dno. cardinali locumtenente regis Henr. VIII.

Carclus quintus imperator queritur de diversis injurijs sibi illatis per Franciscum Francorum reg. & rogat villam Fontrabi sibi restitui; alioquin bellum denunciaret adversus Gallos; fœdere in hoc jungens cum Hen. VIII. reg. Angliæ. Dat. 6. Dec.

Commissio pro contrahendis sponsalibus cum dna. principissa. Dat. Brug. 15. Aug.

Ratificatio conventionis dnæ. Margaretæ de dote dnæ. principissæ. Dat. 14. Sept.

Instrumentum Cæsaris super conventionem servand. per dnam. Margaretam factam.

Protestatio reverend. dni. cardinalis de non recedendo a fœdere Bruges fact.

Tractatus Calisiæ fact. per oratores Hen. 8. & Caroli electi contra Gallorum regem, & alios, ipsorum dominia detinentes.

Commissio facto dno. cardinali ad tractand. de pace & amicitia inter imperatorem & Franciscum reg. Franciæ. Dat. London. 29. Julij.

Procuratorium Cæsareæ majestatis pro tractand. de judicijs. Dat. 6. Decemb.

[Non ultra procedunt negotiationes inter Regem Angliæ & imperatorem in hoc MS.]

III. Cum Galliarum regibus.

Anno regis Henrici VIII. 1^{mo}.

Annoq; Dom. 1509.

Juramentum regis Francorum super observationem pacis & amicitiae.

Juramentum oratorum ejusdem regis in Anglia super observationem. Pacis & amicitiae eodem anno.

Anno regis Henrici VIII. 2^{do}.

p. 336.

Annoq; Dom. 1510.

Instrumentum submissionis Ludovici Regis Francorum: per quam recognovit se debere Hen. VIII. reg. Angliæ quod restat insolutum de summa 120000 coronarum auri de arreragijs debitis Edwardo reg. quondam Angliæ.

Anno reg. Henrici VIII. 3^o.

Annoq; Dom. 1511.

Receptio 13000 coronatorum Franciæ de Francisco (Ludovico) rege Francorum solut. Richardo Carewe locumtenent. Villæ Calisiæ, Decemb. 9.

Anno reg. Henrici VIII. 6^{to}.

Annoq; Dom. 1514.

Juramentum matrimonij contracti per verba de presenti inter Ludovicum Francorum regem & dominam Mariam, filiam Hen. VII.

Tractatus matrimonij inter Lodovicum Francorum regem, & dnam. Mariam. Hen. VII. filiam contrahend.

Verba matrimonialia signata manu reg. Francorum inter eam & dnam. Mariam filiam Hen. VII.

Literæ patentes dotis reg. Franciæ 8. Octobr.

Confirmatio tractatus matrimonij inter Lodovicum Francorum reg. & D. Mariam prædict.

Instrumentum juramenti Lodovici Francorum reg. super observatione tractatus pacis & Amicitiae præstiti.

Tractatus pacis cum Lodovico Francorum reg. 14. Septembr.

Literæ acquietantiales Lodovici Francorum reg. super deliberatione dnæ. Mariæ una cum jocalibus, vasis argenteis, &c. in villa Abbevillæ.

Obligatio oratorum Lodovici Francorum reg. 7. Aug.

Tractatus amicitiae inter Lodovicum Francorum reg. & Hen. VIII. Angliæ reg. 7. Aug.

Commissio Lodovici Franc. reg. fact. oratoribus suis pro obligatione fienda.

Juramentum Lodovici Francorum reg. super observatione tractatus pacis & amicitiae.

Commissio ad tractandum de pace, 29. Julij.

Commissio Lodovici Francorum reg. ad contrahendum matrimonium cum Maria sorore Hen. VIII. 19. Julij.

Commissio Lodovici Fran. reg. ad tractandum & concludend. cum. Hen. VIII. super matrimonio contrahendo, 8. Aug.

Obligatio Lodovici Franc. reg. facta Hen. VIII. pro solutione summæ unius millionis, sive decies centum millium coronarum auri, 14. Sept.

Commissio ad tractandum super pacem fact. per Franciscum Francorum reg. 13. Januarij. p. 337.

Commissio ad tractandum pro obligatione faci-
enda, 14. Januarij.

Anno reg. Henrici VIII. 7^{mo}.

Annoq; Dom. 1515.

Confirmatio pacis & amicitiae per Franciscum Franc. reg.

Instrumentum publicum super praestationem jura-
menti Francorum.

Instrumentum submissionis fact. per Franciscum reg. Francorum pro una millione auri solvend. certis modis & formis.

Obligatio Ludovici (Francisci) reg. Franc. pro pecunia solvenda, 8. Maij.

Juramentum reg. Franc. manu sua signatum super observatione amicitiae.

Intimatio de comprehensione Scotorum, 6. Junij.

Obligatio oratorum reg. Franciae pro solutione unius millionis auri.

Anno reg. Henr. VIII. 10.

Annoq; Dom. 1518.

Tractatus matrimonij inter delphinum & D. Mariam, London. 4. Octob.

Commissio pro sponsalibus contrahend. inter Delphin. & D. Mariam Andegaven. 31. Julij.

Commissio Francisci Francor. reg. ad perficiend. sponsalia inter delphinum & Mariam.

Instrumentum super pollicitatione sponsalium contrahendorum inter delphin. & dnam. Mariam.

Confirmatio tractatus matrimonij inter delphin. & Mariam.

Instrumentum super juramentum matrimonij per reg. Francor. praestitum, una cum originali eidem annex. manu dicti Franc. reg. signat.

Commissio Francor. regis Francisci pro sponsalibus Angiers.

Instrumentum sponsaliorum.

Ratificatio regis Francorum super tractatu habit. & conclus. cum suis oratoribus de mutuo colloquio habendo int. reges Angliæ & Franciæ, 21. Dec.

Confirmatio tractatus pro deprædationibus int. reges Angliæ & Franciæ coercend.

Tractatus deprædationis, 4. Octobr.

Tractatus mutui interventus, & mutui colloquij utriusq; principis.

Juramentum pro observatione tractatus deprædationum una cum originali per dominum reg. signatum.

Tractatus amicitiae & pacis Londini inchoat. cum oratorib. reg. Angliæ.

Commissio ad liberandum & tradendum certos nobiles Franciæ obsides, 13. Januarij.

Juramentum (instrumentum) super juramento pacis manu Francorum reg. signat. eidemq; annex.

p. 338. Commissio reg. Francorum de & super mutuo conventu & colloquio; ac de loco, tempore, modo et forma: & similiter de numero & qualitate personarum.

Instrumentum super juramento per reg. Francorum præstito super materijs concernentib. reg. & regnum Scotiæ.

Tractatus & confœderatio generalis pacis & concordiae int. illustriss. Angliæ & Franciæ reges, & Romanum pontificem, pro expeditione in Turcas, Londin.

Confirmatio tractatus pro redditione civitatis Tornacensis cum suis appenden. 16. Dec.

Instrumentum super confessione receptionis civitatis Tornacensis.

Instrumentum super juramento tractatus Tornacen. una cum originali annex. manu regis Franciæ signat.

Commissio ad tractand. pro liberatione civitatis Tornacen. 31. Julij.

Tractatus Tornacensis.

Articulus comprehensionis Scotorum.

Obligatio facta per Franciscum Francor. reg.

Hen. VIII. pro solutione 60000. coronarum auri.
Parisijs, 12. Januarij.

Commissio Francisci Francor. reg. ad tractand. de
amicitia cum oratoribus reg. Angliæ, ult. Julij.

Articuli recessus manibus Francor. reg. subscript.
Parisijs, 12. Januarij.

Commissio Francisci Francor. reg. fact. Gasparo
de Coligny Mareschallo Franciæ ad tractand. cum
oratoribus Hen. VIII. pro receptione villæ sive ci-
vitat. Tornacen.

Commissio Gaspari de Coligny facta Ludovico
Proisy ballio de Tournay ad recipiend. villam civi-
tat. & Castrum de Tournay, seynt Amande, & Mor-
teigne.

Potestas data per Gasparum de Coligny au Mons.
Hodyn. pro deliberatione villæ de Mortayne.

Protestatio facta tempore liberationis villæ de
Mortaigne.

Instructions given to the Bishop of Rochester, the
Earl of Somerset, Captain of Calais, & other am-
bassadors, on the behalf of the King of England, to
treat with the ambassadours of France.

Anno reg. Henr. VIII. 11.

Annoq; Dom. 1519.

Confirmatio tractatus mutui colloquij principum
apud Guynes.

Commissio & procuratio Francor. reg. fact. Dno.
Wolsey Cardinali de mutuo colloquio & præsentia
dnorum. regum incampo juxta Guysnes, 10. Januarij.

Commissio Francor. reg. fact. Dno. Cardinali
Ebor. ad tractand. & concludend. cum Hen. VIII.
super modo & forma & loco colloquij mutui. Dat.
23. Febr.

Anno reg. Henr. VIII. 12.

p. 339.

Annoq; Dom. 1520.

Articuli & capitul. tractatus inter reges Angliæ &
Franciæ una cum schedula annex. jurament. præstit.

per dict. Francor. regem sua propria manu subscript.
Dat. 6. Junij.

Literæ christianiss. regis Franciæ ad Hen. VIII.
de permutatione obsidum, Febr. 4.

Confirmatio reg. Gallorum fact. super quibusdam
articulis tractatus belli offensivi.

Anno reg. Henr. VIII. 13.

Annoq; Dom. 1521.

Commissio ad dnum. cardinalem existen. in villa
Calis ad arctiorem amicitiam & firmiorem treugam
percutiendam inter Hen. VIII. & regem Franciæ,
29. Julij.

Commissio fact. dno. cardinali locumtenent. in
villa Calis de arctiori fœdere concludend. inter Hen.
VIII. & Franciscum reg. Franciæ, 29. Julij.

Commissio fact. dno. cardinali ad tractand. de pace
& amicitia inter imperatorem & Franciscum reg.
Franciæ. Dat. Londin. 29. Julij.

Promissio facta per Cæsaream majestatem, quod
non concludet de re aliqua cum rege Franciæ absq;
consensu regis Angliæ & n. papæ, quousq; plenarie
conclus. foret de pace & amicitia. Dat. 15. Julij.

Literæ patentes reg. Gallorum, quibus ostendit
illum non solum esse paratum stare arbitrio & judicio
Hen. VIII. reg. Angliæ in compositione de pace
inter illum & regem Castiliæ; ac etiam de mittendis
oratoribus Calet pro tractand. & concludend. eadem
pace. Dat. 1. Julij.

Requisitio facta per reg. Gallorum pro bello mo-
vendo contra Cæsaream majestatem juxta effectum
tractatus Londin. editus contra invasores. Dat. 23.
Januarij.

Anno reg. Henr. VIII. 17.

Annoq; Dom. 1525.

Tractatus deprædat. apud Moore, 30. Aug.

Confirmatio tractatus pro deprædationibus inter
regem Angliæ & Franciæ coercend.

Confirmatio Francorum reg. super tractatu deprædationum apud Moore, 30. Aug.

Instrumentum super confessione obligat. duorum millium demsi, 11. Aug.

Tractatus amicitiae cum Francisco Gallorum reg. moderno initus.

Juramentum Francisci Francor. reg. pro observatione tractatus pacis.

Obligatio civitatis Aurelianæ, 3. Maij.

Confirmatio tractatus pro arreragijs solvend. apud Moore.

Literæ Francisci reg confirmatoriae pacis manu sua propria scriptæ.

Confirmatio tractatus obligationis apud Moore fact. per illustrissim. Lodovicum Francorum reg. p. 340.

Tractatus obligationis pro solutione pecunarium apud Moore, 30. Aug.

Confirmatio tractatus Lodovicæ tam super dote D. Mariæ reg. Francor. solvend. quam pro arreragijs ejusdem apud Moore, 30. Aug.

Juramentum oratorum Francorum reg. super observatione tractat. pacis.

Obligatio dnæ. Lodovicæ regentis Franciæ de novis literis obligatorijs per reg. Francorum conficiendis, Lugduni, 30. Sept.

Obligatio Francor. pro summa duorum millionum coronarum auri de sole. Baione, 17. Martij.

Tractatus pacis & amicitiae inter Lodovicum Francor. reg. & Hen. VIII. apud Moore, 30. Aug.

Commissio dnæ Lodovicæ regent. Franciæ pro concipienda obligatione.

Commissio dnæ. regentis Franciæ de tractanda pace cum oratorib. Hen. VIII. 9. Junij.

Obligatio dnæ. Ludovicæ regentis Franciæ de tractatu pacis per regem confirmand.

Juramentum Ludovicæ regentis Franciæ pro observatione tractat. pacis.

Confirmatio tractatus pacis per dnam. Ludovicam regent. Franciæ apud Moore fact. Aug. 30.

Confirmatio articuli de Duce Albaniae per Ludovicam Francor. regentem.

Tractatus de Duce Albaniae, quod non intrabit Scotiam, durante minore ætate regis Scotiae, 30. Aug.

Obligatio	{	Burdugalliae, 7. Martij.
		Caroli Ducis Vandosme, 29 Septembr.
		Caroli Comitis Brienne, 1. Octobr.
		Ludovici comit. de malo Leparario,
		1. Octob.
		Ducis Longaville, 17. Septemb,
		Comitis S. Pauli.
		Dom. Laurentij, 28. Sept.
		Civitatis Rothomagen. 7. Martij.
		Civitat. Lugdunensis, 20. Oct.
		Civitat. Rhemensis, 5. Novembr.

Confirmatio per dnam. Ludovicam qualificationis articuli comprehensionis reg. Scotorum, 30. Aug.

Confirmatio tractatus declarationis alternativæ, & quonam pacto rex noster contribuet pro bello inferendo contra Cæsarem. In quo & confirmatur tractatus obligationum duorum millionum, 30. Aug.

Tractatus de douagerio dnæ. Mariæ apud Moore, 30. Aug.

Obligatio	{	Civit. Tholosæ, 3. Octobr.
		Cardinalis Burboniæ, 26. Sept.
		Civit. Ambianensis, 3. Nov.
		Civit. Parisiensis, 24. Januar.
		Civit. Turonensis, 7. Martij.
		Dni. de Montmorentio, 6. Sept.

p. 341.

Anno reg. Henr. VIII. 18.

Annoq; Dom. 1526.

Tractatus reciprocæ obligationis Francorum regis, 8. Aug.

Confirmatio tractat. reciprocæ obligationis Francor. regis, 20. Aug.

Commissio pro tractatu mutuæ & reciprocæ obligationis, 2. Junij.

Confirmatio regis Gallorum super tractatu pacis factæ inter oratores regentis Franciæ & Hen. VIII. 15. Apr.

Commissio Francisci Francor. reg. pro tradendis & recipiendis literis confirmatorijs pacis & amicitiae ac obligationum, 2. April.

Confirmatio tractat. concernen. ducem Albaniae, 15. Apr.

Instrumentum super præstationem juramenti per reg. Gallorum pro observatione tractatus pacis.

Literæ patentes Francisci Francor. reg. super qualificatione comprehensionis Jacobi reg. Scotorum, 15. Apr.

Anno reg. Henrici VIII. 19.

Annoq; Dom. 1527.

Tractatus belli offensivi inter Angliam & Franciam pro redemptione filiorum reg. Gallorum, 30. April.

Tractatus arctioris conjunctionis inter regem Angliæ & Franciæ, Westmonast. habit.

Confirmatio tractat. pacis & amicitiae, Ambiani, 18. Aug.

Tractatus perpetuæ pacis habit. Westmonast. inter reg. Angliæ & Franciæ, Apr. 30.

Tractatus continuationis belli contra Flandros, 9. Maij.

Confirmatio	{	Tractatus belli offensivi Paris. 8. Junij.
		Tractatus arctioris commutationis Paris. 8. Junij.
		Tractat. perpetuæ pacis, 18. Aug.
		Tractat. de generali concilio non indicendo.
		Tractat. propter privilegia mercatorum Anglorum in regno Franciæ, 18. Aug.

Commissio Francisci Francor. reg. ad tractand. pro bello Flandriæ per aliqua tempora supersedenda, & pecuniam quam ibi expositurus erat alibi exponend.

Commissio { Regis christianissimi ad tractand. de
 modo & forma gerendi bellum con-
 tra Cæsarem.
 Regis Francor. pro libertatibus & pri-
 vilegijs mercatorum Angliæ con-
 cedend.
 Ad communicand. & concludend. de
 privilegijs Anglis mercatorib. con-
 cedend. Dat. Compendij, 25. Sept.
 Pro tractat. arctioris commutationis,
 & alijs tractatibus, 3. Apr.

Juramentum reg. Gallorum super observatione quorundam tractatum, viz. tractat. arctioris commutationis, & belli offensivi, Paris.

p. 342.

Juramentum per reg. Gallorum præstitum super observatione tractat. perpetuæ pacis, 15. Aug.

Instrumentum juramentorum Francor. regis & reverendiss. dni. cardinalis Ambiani præstiti. Dat. Ambiani, 18. Aug.

Instrumentum act. nostri de juramento per reg. Gallorum præstito, Parisijs, 9. Junij.

Commissio ad vidend. jurament præstit. de fœdere perpetuæ pacis observandæ, & ad tradend. ratificationem ejusdem, 25. Sept.

Articulus de relatione tractatum. Westmonaster. 30. Apr.

Acquietatio Anthonij & Joannis de Cavelerei pro portione 60000*l.* 17. Sept.

One acquittance of 64444 crowns of the sun contributed for the wars in Italy, for the months of Novemb. & Decemb.

Tractatus pacis & amicitiae habitus inter Franciscum, & Hen. VIII. Dat. Ambiani, 18. Aug. sub sigillo aureo, & remanet adhuc in una cista in inferiori Thesauria infra Abbatiam. Westm.

Commissio ad incarceratos deliberandos, 19. Julij.

Commissio in qua Cardinalis Ebor. fit locumtenens regius : cui datur potestas conveniendi & concludendi pacem & amicitiam cum rege Franciæ, Cæsare & Venetis, 18. Julij.

Commissio Hen. VIII. facta dno. cardinali ad tractand. super quocumq; fœdere cum Francorum rege, cum Venetis, pro resarcienda Romanæ sedis dignitate, 18. Junij.

Anno reg. Henr. VIII. 20.

Annoq; Dom. 1528.

Commissio regis christianiss. pro quietantia dand. 22. Octob.

Confirmatio induciarum reg. christianiss. Parisiis, 23. Junij.

Confirmatio tractatus commutationis a partib. Flandriæ in Italiam.

Commissio Archiducissæ Austriæ fact. Dominico de Mendoza, Episcopo de Burges, Gulielmo de Barras a secretis ejusdem Margaretæ, ad tractand. & concludend. tam cum Francor. rege quam Hen. Octavo de abstinentia guerræ inter dictos principes, 12. Maij.

Commissio Hen. VIII. facta Thomæ cardin. Ebor. ad tractand. cum oratoribus Francor. regis, de abstinentia guerræ, 19. Maij.

Tractatus pacis & amicitiae factus & conclus. per oratores Francor. regis, & Hen. VIII. 19. Maij.

Conclusio pacis & amicitiae inter reg. Angliæ, Franciæ, & imperatorem fact. per Joannem de Bellay, Episcop. Baion. ambassiatorem Francorum reg. 12. Maij.

The copy of the French kings treaty, with one other writing. In the same box.

Anno reg. Henr. VIII. 21.

Annoq; Dom. 1529.

Instrumentum quoddam super traditione cujusdam monilis, sive jocalis Francisci reg. Francor. in speciem Floreni Lillij, fact. pro summa 444000 coronarum auri de sole, Maximiliano (Carolo) pignori. Dat. Lond. 18. Februar.

p. 343. Instrumentum Francisci Francor. reg. Hen. VIII. fact. de restituendo monili, sive jocali aureo, si imperator Carolus denegaverit deliberationem liberorum dict. Francisci intra spacium semestre.

Tractatus inter oratores Francisci Francorum regis & Hen. VIII. de recipiendo dicto Francisco sufficientes obligationes pro solutione 50000 coronarum de sole: unde conjunctim cum oratorib. prædict. Hen. VIII. constituit Cuthbertum Episc. Londnensem ad recipiend. obligationes. Dat. 18. Februar.

Commissio pro sale singulis annis juxta conventum in ea parte præstand. de dat. 30. Januar.

Commissio Francisci Francor. reg. fact. Wilhelmo de Bellay cubiculario suo & Johanni Joachim œconomo suo, ad tractand. cum Hen. VIII. pro relaxatione ejusdem pensionis 47368 coronarum auri solis debit. mensibus Maio & Novembri, 29. Januar.

Tractatus pro debita solutione annuæ pensionis salis, 18. Febr.

Obligatio Francisci reg. Francorum pro solutione 552000 coronarum, casu quo perpetua pax ex parte dict. regis non observetur, 29. Jan.

Anno reg. Henr. VIII. 22.

Annoq; Dom. 1530.

Commissio ad tractand. de commutatione salis in annuam nummariam solutionem, Burdugalliæ, 16. Junij.

Instrumentum acquietationis Caroli imperatoris per Hen. VIII. fact. de 10000*l.* si idem imperator deliberaverit filios regis Franciæ, & non alitor, 30. Junij.

Tractatus commutationis salis in nummariam annuam solutionem, Dec. 2.

Confirmatio tractat. commutationis pensionis salis in nummariam solutionem.

Anno reg. Henr. VIII. 24.

Annoq; Dom. 1532.

Commissio ad petendum literas confirmatorias tractatus ad mutuam dignitatem regnorum, subditorum & rerum omnium utriusq; principis defensionem & conservationem conclus. & similes literas confirmatorias tradendas & deliberandas. Dat. 4. Julij.

Tractatus arctioris commutationis. Lond. 23. Junij.

Confirmatio tractatus arctioris commutationis, Villocherin.

Pactum inter utrumq; principem conclus. pro bello contra Turcam inferendo, Caleti, 28. Octob.

Qualificatio expensarum pro bello inferendo contra Turcam. Caleti.

Anno reg. Henr. VIII. 38.

Annoq; Dom. 1546.

Commissio Francorum regis ad tractand. cum Hen. VIII. super perpetua pace & amicitia, 21. Apr.

Commissio ad petend. literas confirmatorias tractat. perpetuæ pacis ex parte Angliæ reg. tradi, & ad tradend. & deliberand. literas confirmatorias ejusdem tractatus ex parte regis Franciæ. p. 344.

Commissio Francor. regis ad recipiend. juramentum reg. Angliæ super observatione perpetuæ pacis.

Commissio ad prorogandum præstationem juramenti in longiorem terminum. Dat. 8. Julij.

Tractatus perpetuæ pacis & amicitiae, Junij 7.

Confirmatio tractatus perpetuæ amicitiae & pacis.

Literæ patentes oratoris christianiss. regis, quibus apparet dict. oratorem fateri se recepisse literas confirmatorias perpetuæ pacis 7. Junij, conclus. sub magno sigillo & manu reg. Angliæ signat. Dat. London. 17. Julij.

Conventio & concordatio, ut dies ad requirend. juramentum pro observatione tractat. perpetuæ pacis

7. Junij 1546. præstand. per utrumq; principem limitatus, ad viginti amplius dies prorogetur, London.

17. Julij.

Commissio ad petend. pecunias debitas d. Hen. VIII. reg. Angliæ pro redemptione Joannis olim Francorum reg.

Instrumentum autenticum super juramento præstito per Francorum reg. de observatione tractat. perpetuæ pacis & amicitie, de dat. 7. Junij.

Juramentum Francor. reg. pro observatione tractat. pacis perpetuæ & amicitie.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

A
R E P O S I T O R Y
 OF
DIVERS LETTERS,
 AND
OTHER CHOICE MONUMENTS,
 FROM AUTHENTIC MSS.
 TO WHICH
 REFERENCE IS MADE IN THE FOREGOING HISTORY.

A.

p. 3.

*The ceremonies and funeral solemnities paid to the
 corps of King Henry VIII.*

AFTER the corps was cold, and seen by the lords of the privy council, and others the nobility of the realm, as appertained, commandment was given to the apothecaries, chirurgeons, wax-chandlers, and others, to do their duties in spurging, cleansing, bowelling, cering, embalming, furnishing, and dressing with spices the said corps; and also for wrapping the same in cerecloth of many folds over the fine cloth of rains and velvet, surely bound and trammel'd with cords of silk. Which was done and executed of them accordingly, as to the dignity of such a mighty prince it appertaineth: and a writing in great and small letters annexed against the breast, containing his name and style, the day and year of his death in like manner. After this don, then was the plumber and carpenter appointed to case him in

Ex. Offic.
 Armor. I.
 11.

lead, and to chest him. Which being don, the said chest was covered about with blew velvet, and a cross set upon the same.

And the corps being thus ordained, the entrails and bowels were honorably buried in the chappel within the said place, with all manner of ceremonies thereunto belonging; don by the dean and ministers of the same chappel.

Then was the corps in the chest had into the midds of the privy chamber, and set upon tressels with a rich pall of cloth of gold, and a cross thereon, with all manner of lights thereto requisite, having divine service about him with masses, obsequies, and prayers; and continual watch made by his chaplains and gentlemen of his privy chamber, to the number of thirty persons, besides the chaplains, continually about him, in their orders and courses night and day, during the time of his abode there, which was five days. And in the mean time all things in the chapel, and for preparing of his herse in the same, were continually a doing, as hereafter shal be declared.

First, The chambers, galleries, hal, chappel, and al other necessary places, were hanged with black, and garnished with escutcheons of his armes, descents, and mariages.

In the said chappel was ordained a goodly formal herse, with fourscore square tapers; every light containing two foot in length, paising in the whole eighteen hundred weight of wax; (another account saith, 3. 14. p.63. by estimation, 2000.) Garnished about with pensils and escutcheons, banners and bannerols of descents. And at the four corners four banners of saints beaten in fine gold upon damask; with a majesty therover of rich cloth of tissue, and vallance of black silk, and fringe of black silk and gold. And the barriers without the herse, and the sides and floor of the said chappel, covered with black cloth, to the high altar: and all the sides and ceiling of the said chappel set with banners and standards of St. George and others. p. 4.

And at the foot where the corps should be reposed within the herse, stood an altar covered with black velvet, adorned with al manner of plate and jewels of the revestry. Upon which altar there was said mas continually during the time, that the corps was there remaining. And the high altar very richly adorned with plate and jewels and other ornaments.

And in the mean time commandment was given to al manner of states, as wel noble men and women, to whom it appertained, as to al of them of the king's house, to put apart their several apparels, and put on them every man his mourning weeds. And warrants directed out to the great wardrobe, for the serving of them, every man and woman, after the rate and proportion appointed to their degrees. To the intent they might give their attendance in such kind of service as to them should be appointed. Which was accomplished of every man against the day the corps should be removed.

The names of the mourners appointed to give their attendance upon the said corps, as wel at the herse, as in the removing therof from place to place, hereafter follow :

CHIEF MOURNER,

Henry Gray, Lord Marques of Dorset.

TWELVE MOURNERS.

L. St. Johns, lord president of the council.

Henry Fitz Alleyn, Earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain.

John Vere, Earl of Oxford.

Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.

Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby.

Henry Ratsclyff, Earl of Sussex.

Henry Parker, Lord Morley.

Will. Dacre, Lord Dacre of the North.

Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers.

Edward Fycnns, Lord Clinton.

Edward Gray, Lord Gray.

John Scrope, Lord Scrope.

These noblemen prepared themselves in their mourning habits, as hoods, mantles, gowns, and al other apparels, according to their degrees; and were in good order and readiness at the court, to give their attendance, when they should be called.

The names of the bishops and prelates appointed as well for the executing and ministring divine service in the chappel, as also to attend upon the conduct of the said corps, when it shall be removed :

- p. 5. Steven Gardiner, Bp. of Winchester, chief prelate.
 Cuthbert Tunstal, Bp. of Durham.
 Edmund Boner, Bp. of London.
 Thomas Goodrich, Bp. of Ely.
 Will. Barlow, Bp. of St. Davids.
 Henry Holbeach, Bp. of Rochester.
 John Wakeman, Bp. of Glocester.
 Arthur Bulkley, Bp. of Bangor.
 Paul Bush, Bp. of Bristow.

Whereof the Bishop of Winchester was appointed to make the sermon; and being chief prelate of the order, to execute.

These with al other chaplains, and men of the church, were commanded to be ready in their *pontificalibus*, and others for the execution of divine service at the time appointed, as followeth :

The second day of the month of February, being Wednesday, and Candlemas-day, betwixt eight and nine of the clock at night, the herse being lighted, and all other things appointed and prepared, the said most royal corps was reverently taken, and removed from the chambers, covered with a rich pall of cloth of tissue, crossed with white tissue, and garnished with escutcheons of his arms; and so brought to the chapel by the lord great master, the officers of household, gentlemen of the privy chamber, esquires for the body, and other noblemen and gentlemen, both spiritual and temporal, placed in their degrees, and going before the corps, and after, with lights meet for the same. And there it was honourably set

and placed within the said herse, under a pall of rich cloth of tissue, garnished with escutcheons, and a rich cloth of gold set with precious stones thereon.

And the corps being so reposed in the herse, the dean of the chappel, with all other chaplains and ministers therof, fel to their oraitions and suffrages.

After that, the gentlemen ushers, with officers of arms, and others therto appointed, began their watch in due course and order, as to them appertained, for that night. Which order was also kept and continued honourably night and day, during the said corps there being, with al divine service meet and convenient for the same.

So the morrow after being Thursday, the 3d of February, between nine and ten before noon, the mourners assembled themselves in the Pallet-chamber, in their mourning apparel, with their hoods on their heads; and from thence were conveyed to chappel in form following: that is to say, two and two in order after their degrees, next to the chief; and then the chief mourner with his train born after him, conducted with officers of arms and gentlemen ushers, the vicechamberlain and divers others following them, after their degrees. And so proceded til they came to the herse, where they were placed, and kneeled about the corps on either side, as they proceded; and the chief mourners at the head.

Then Norroy, king of arms, standing at the quire-door, with his face to the people, said with a loud voice, "Of your charity pray for the soul of the high and most mighty prince, our late sovereign lord and king, Henry VIII." Which he did daily at the beginning of all masses and *dirigies*. Then from the vestry of the said chappel came out three bishops in *pontificalibus*, and began the *requiem* mass at the high altar, the chappel singing and saying the ceremonies therto appertaining, in most solempn and goodly wise, to the offertory.

Then was a carpet and quission laid, by the gentlemen and yeomen huishers, for the chief mourner:

who immediately came up to the offering, with the rest following after him in order two and two, as aforesaid, conducted by officers at arms, and gentlemen huishers. Then the chief mourner, receiving the offering of the lord chamberlain, did offer the same, assisted with al the rest, and none other offering but he. And so returned in like order, leaving the corps on the right-hand, and placed themselves as they were before, within the herse. And after the mas was ended, the prelates that executed came from the altar down to the herse; and they censured the said corps with al maner of ceremonies therto appertaining. And that don they returned to the vestry. And the mourners departed, conducted in order as aforesaid, to the chamber of presence: where was prepared for them a sumptuous dinner; and the chief mourner served with assays, and al other service, saving the estate, as if it had been the kings majesty personally present.

When the divine service was don, every man drew himself to his lodging til afternoon at the hour appointed. And then they repaired again to the said chamber, from whence they were had, and conducted in like maner to the chappel, and placed about the corps, kneeling within the herse, as afore is mentioned. Then Norroy, king at arms, came out, and proclaimed his style, bidding the prayers; and with that, the prelates before named began the *placebo* and *dirige*. And at every lesson Norroy went out and bad the bede.

Thus the aforesaid prelates, with the dean and chapter, continued in al maner of service and ceremonies, *dirigies* and masses, censings, watching, saying of psalters, and al other rites and duties, as wel in the forenoon as after, by night and by day, during the abode of the corps within the chappel; which was twelve days. In the mean time the herse at Sion and Windsor, and al other kinds of preparation, were doing: which was set forth, as hereafter followeth:

First, the church of Sion, and the choir with the house, chambers and lodgings, where the ambassadors and nobles should repair, were hung to the ground with black cloth, and garnished with escotcheons of the kings armes in the garter, and mariages. In the midst of the choir there was ordained a royal and stately herse of nine principals with double stories, and a costly majesty, a vallance fringed with black silk and gold, and hatchments garnished over al with pencils, escotcheons of armes, bannerols of descents; and about the same double barriers hanged with black cloth escotcheons; and the floor of the same herse covered with black cloth to the high altar; which was al covered with black velvet, and preciously adorned with al maner of plate and jewels of the church; silver, gold, and precious stones, in the best wise. And the said herse continued with al sorts of lights in great number.

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And at Windsor, the ways of passage from the Castle-bridge to the west door of the colledg, were railed on both sides the way, and hanged with black cloth to the ground with escotcheons of arms and mariages: and so were the lodgings of the ambassadors and nobles within the castle; and al the church peramble, and the choir of the college hung and garnished as aforesaid: and the whole floor of the choir was spread with black cloth. And the herse standing in the midst of the said choir was of a wonderful state and proportion: that is to say, formed in compas of eight panes, and thirteen principals, double storied, of 35 foot high, curiously wrot, painted and gilded, having in it a wonderful sort of lights amounting in price of wax to the sum of 4000 pound weight, and garnished underneath with a rich majesty, and a doome double vallanced: on the which on either side was written the kings word in beaten gold upon silk, and his armes of descents. And the whole herse was richly fringed with double fringes of black silk and gold on either side, both within and without, very gorgous, and valiant beheld.

And above over al the herse among the lights, it was set and garnished with pensils, scutcheons of arms and mariages, with hatchments of silk and gold, and divers bannerols of descents, depending in goodly order round about the herse. Also the double barriers of the said herse were hanged with black cloth, and set with escotcheons of the kings armes, and al the floor overspread with black cloth to the high altar. Which altar was hanged with cloth of gold, and adorned with all the precious jewels of the church, as candlesticks, crosses, basins, censers, shipes and images of gold and silver in great abundance. And another altar set at the foot where the corps should ly within the herse, covered with black velvet, hanged also with the richest ornaments and plate, that in the best form and order might be devised.

Now while these things were in hand, and continually working by artificers, and others therto appointed, there was ordained for the corps a sumptuous and valuable chariot of four wheels, very long and large, with four pillars overlaid al with cloth of gold at the four corners, bearing a pillow of rich cloth of gold and tissue, fringed with a goodly deep fringe of blew silk and gold: and underneath that, turned towards the chariot, was a marvellous excellent cloth of majesty, having in it a doom artificially wrought in fine gold upon oyl. And al the nether part of the said chariot was hanged with blew velvet down to the ground between the wheels, and al other parts of the chariot enclosed in like maner with blew velvet.

Forthwith, were al other necessary things for the conduct of the said noble corps with al speed devised and set forth, to be ready at the day the same should be removed.

There was also order taken for the clearing and mending of all the high ways between Westminster and Windsor, whereas the corps should pas; and the noisome boughs cut down of every side the way, for prejudiceing of the standards, banners and ban-

nerols. And where the ways were narrow, there were hedges opened on either side, so as the footmen might have free passage, without tarrying, or disturbing of their orders.

Item, My Lord of Worcester, the kings almoner, with other his ministers and assistants, did dayly distribute to the poor people, as wel about the kings house at Westminster, as at Leadenhal in London, and divers other places, great plenty of mony in almesdeeds, both in open doles, and by way of proclamation; and especially in the wards of London wheras need was, to the great relief and comfort of the poor people.

There was also two carts laden with hatches and escotcheons of armes delivered to the said almoner, to distribute them, with certain mony to the parishes along the way. Which carts went forth before the removing with the almoners deputies, and delivered the same to the curats and clerks of the churches here ensuing.

Charing Cross.	Fulham.	Yerling.
St. Margaret, at	Kensington.	Branforth.
Westminster.	S. Martin.	Hanwel.
St. Giles in the	Cheswick.	New Branforth.
fields.	Hammersmith.	Syon.
Chelsith.	Stough.	Thistleworth.
Norwood.	Graiford.	Hillington.
Thwykenham.	Harlington.	Shewer.
Hownslow.	Stanwel.	Iver.
Northal.	Eton.	Langley.
Bedford.	Shipston,	Farnham.
Colbrooke.	Docket.	Windsor.
Heston.	Hais.	Windsor Col-
Stanes.	Drayton.	lege.
Knightsbridg.	Acton.	

The curats and clerks of these churches had torches and escotcheons and money delivered them by the kings almoners. And when the corps was coming, they stood in the way in their best orna-

ments, and honorably received the same, bidding their oraisons and prayers as appertained, and devoutly censed the corps, as it proceeded. Which order was kept al the long way between Westminster and Windsor, ever as the corps removed.

These and other things requisite to the removing in maner afore declared, ordained, and provided, on Sunday morning the 13 day of February, at the high altar of the chappel, where the corps remained, there were sung three solemn masses by bishops in *pontificalibus* in sundry suits. The first of our lady in white: the second of the trinity in blew: the third of *requiem*, by the right reverend the Bishop of Winchester in black. And at every mas two bishops mitred, to minister therto, as epistolar and gospeller. When the chief mourner, with al the rest of the lords mourners were set, and kneeled within the herse, the chappel and al the people keeping silence, Norroy king at armes began the bedes in form before expressed. And the choir began the office of the first mas; and so proceded solemnly with the prelates executing to the offertory of the mas of *requiem*. Then the chief mourner accompanied with al the rest of the mourners offered for them al. So the mas proceded to the end. The mas don, the prelats as aforesaid censed the corps, the chappel singing *libera me Domine*. That don they went into the revestry again. Immediately the mourners with al other prelats drew to the chamber of presence to dinner, as is aforesaid.

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That same day was proclamation made, that al men allowed black liveries of the king should give attendance the next day at five of the clock at Charing Cross, for the conduct of the said corps to Syon that night. *Item*, that al such as had cariage of their masters should go before for troubling the passage of the said corps in the way.

After dinner they withdrew to their chambers, and resorted to the chappel in due time, as is aforesaid. Where was *dirige* with censing of the corps, al

suffrages and duties therto appertaining. That done they went to supper. But there was solemn watch about the corps, with continual prayer and lights al that night.

The next day early (the 14 February) the chariot was brought to the court hal door; and the corps with great reverence brought from the herse to the same by mitred prelats, and other temporal lords. In this wise went the bishops two and two in order, saying their prayers, torches plenty on every side the corps, born by sixteen yeomen of the guard under a rich canopy of blew velvet fringed with silk and gold, which was holden up with six blew staves and knops of gold; the six staves were born by six barons; viz. the Lords Burgaveny, Conyers, Latymer, Fitzwater, Bray and Crumwel. Which lords executed the said office as oft as the said corps was removed to and fro the choir. Then followed the chief mourner and the rest of the lords mourners in order, with torches light, born on every side in great numbers: and so was it reverently settled in the bulk of the chariot. Over the coffin of the said chair was cast a pall of rich cloth of gold, and upon that a goodly image like to the kings person in al points, wonderful richly apparelled, with velvet, gold, and precious stones of al sorts: holding in his right hand a scepter of gold; in his left hand the bal of the world with a cross. Upon his head a crown imperial of inestimable value, a collar of the garter about his neck, and a garter of gold about his leg. Which thus being honorably conducted as aforesaid, was laid upon the said coffin by the gentlemen of his privy chamber upon rich cushions of cloth of gold, and fast bound with silk ribbands to the pillars of the said chariot, for removing. Then were set at the head and feet of the said corps Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, two of the chief of his privy chamber; which kept their rooms, and were caried in the chariot with the corps.

The chariot with the corps and representation so

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disposed, was garnished about with fourteen banners of mariages and descents, that is to say, six at either side, and at each end one. And so it rested there with a great number of torches burning on either side, with certain noblemen and gentlemen attending thereon, by the space of two hours; til the horses and al other things necessary were seen, and set forward. So about eight of the clock, the weather being very fair, and the people very desirous to see the sights, the nobles mounted their horses and marched forward with the noble corps.

First of al, rode two porters of the kings house (named John Herd, and Thomas Mervyn) with two black staves in their hands, to stay, that neither cart, horse, nor man should trouble or cumber them in this passage. Then came the sergeant of the vestry with his verger, and after him the cros, with the children, clarks and priests of the chappel with their surplices on their backs, singing in order their oraisons and prayers. On each side of them from the cross to the dean, went the number of two hundred and fifty poor men in long mourning gowns and hoods, with badges on their left shoulders, the red and white cross in a sun shining, crown imperial over that. In each of their hands a large torch burning. And on each hand of them went two carts laden with torches, to restore them always as the old wasted.

Then proceeded Thomas A Bruges, Esq. bearing the dragon standard; and on each side of him a sergeant at armes with his mace.

Next, al maner of messagers, ambassadors servants, being gentlemen, trumpets without instruments, gentile strangers, chaplains without dignity, esquires, head-officers of household not being knights, in their degrees, the better the neerer the corps, and pursuivants at arms riding continually up and down between the standards, to stay them, keep their order.

Then the standard of the greyhound, born by Sir

Nicolas Sturley, Kt. On each side of him another sergeant as aforesaid. Next the standard followed the aldermen of London, to the number of twelve. After them knights bannerets, chaplains of dignity, the kings head officers, being knights, and other notable strangers, and two heralds, and other officers, riding from standard to standard, to conduct them.

Then came the standard of the lion, born by the Lord Winsor hooded, and trapped as the other aforesaid. And on each side of him a sergeant at armes with his mace. Under the standard al the kings council of the law followed, and others, not being of the privy council, after their degrees two and two in order. Then al lords or barons, viscounts, earls and bishops after their degrees, two and two in order. Then the lords of the council in their places two and two. Then came al noble strangers, ambassadors of divers kingdoms, nations, and towns, accompanied with such of the lords as best could entertain them, and understand their language. Then the ambassador of the emperor, and with him the archbishop of Canterbury. And four heralds riding about to see them keep order.

Then came the banner of the kings armes embroidered, born by the Lord Talbot, with his hood on, and his horse garnished and trapped. After him Carlile herald of armes, bearing the helm and the crest of the kings horse trapped and garnished. Then Norroy king at armes, bare the targe alone in like maner. Next, Clarentieux, king at arms, bare the sword. Then Garter, principal king of armes, bare the kings rich coat of armes curiously embroidered. And on each side of these, hatchments, sergeants of armes riding with their maces.

Then the twelve banners of descents were born, two in order as followeth. First, A banner of the kings and Q. Janes's armes, born by Geo. Harper, Esq. Secondly, A banner of the Kings and Q. Katharins armes, born by Leonard Chamberlain, Esq.

Thirdly, A banner of Richmond and Holland, by Sir William Barrington, Kt. Fourthly, A banner of March and Ulster, by Sir Edward Willoughby. Fifthly, A banner of Somerset and Beauchamp, by Sir Philip Dragot, Kt. Sixthly, A banner of Somerset and Richmond, by Sir Nicolas Ponyngs, Kt. Seventhly, A banner of York with the mariage, by Sir Fulk Grevyl, Kt. Eighthly, A banner of King Edward IV. and his mariage, by Sir John Harcote, Kt. Ninthly, A banner of King Henry VII. and his mariage, by Sir Anthony Hungerford, Kt. Tenthly, A banner of S. Edmonds armes, by Sir George Blount, Kt. Eleventhly, A banner of S. Edwards armes, by Edward Littleton, Esq. Twelfthly, A banner of Lancaster, with the mariage, by Sir John Markham, Kt.

These banners went before the chariot one against another, as they be rehersed. And at the four corners of the said chariot went four worthy knights, with four banners of four saints, as after followeth : *viz.* A banner of S. Edward, by Sir Thomas Clere, Kt. A banner of King Henry the saint, by Sir William Woodhouse, Kt. At the two hinder corners, a banner of the Trinity, born by Sir Michael Lylster ; the other of our Lady, by Sir Francis Dautre, Kt.

Then came the chair with the corps thereon, and the representation before described, in the most noble wise that could be devised, with grooms, pages, from the first horse head to the mourners, on either side going on foot with the staff torches brenning about the chair, to the number of sixty or more. The chair drawn by seven great horses wholly trapped in black velvet down to the pasterns, and garnished with escotcheons of the kings armes ; and on their fronts shaffrons of armes. Upon the seven horses rode seven children of honer al in black, with their hoods on their heads : and in their hands either of them holding a bannerole of the kings dominions, and the antient armes of England, led by seven persons in mourning apparel.

On either side of the said chariot rode six assistants to the same, hooded, their horses trapped in black to the ground, bearing nothing in their hands, *viz.* Sir Thomas Hennage, Sir Thomas Paston, Sir Thomas S—— (Seamour perhaps), Sir John Gates, Sir Thomas Darcy, Sir Maurice Barkley.

Next to the chariot came the chief mourner alone, his horse trapped al in black velvet. After him followed the other twelve mourners, two and two, the horses trapped to the ground. Next the mourners, the kings chamberlain with his staff, and his hood on his shoulder, as a chief officer, and no mourner. Next to them Sir Anthony Brown, master of the kings horse, bare-headed, his horse trapped to the ground. And he led the kings spare horse trapped al in cloth of gold down to the ground.

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Then followed nine henchmen in black and hooded: their horses trapped to the ground, garnished with escotcheons of armes of England before the conquest, and shaffrons on their horses heads, holding in their hands bannerols of the same arms that their horses were trapped with, that is to say,

The armes of

Brute	Edmond
Belin	Edward Exile
Kadwellader	S. Edward
Athelstane	England alone without
Arthur	France.

The henchmens names were John Sourton (Stourton perhaps) Edward Ychingham, Thomas Le Strange, George Dennys, Richard Brown, Roger Armour, Thomas Brown, Richard Cotton, and Patrick Barnaby.

Then followed Sir Francis Brian, master of the henchmen, alone. After him Sir Anthony Wyngfield, captain of the guard, and al the guard in black, three and three on foot, bearing each one a halbard on his shoulder, with the point downward. After

them al noblemens servants according to their degrees of their masters, next after the corps.

Thus they marched forward in goodly order from the court to Charing Cross, and so forth, to the great admiration of them that beheld it, which was an innumerable people.

So in time they came to Brainford; and shortly after to Syon. Where a little before, the gentlemen, esquires and knights, aldermen of London, and divers other noblemen, did stay themselves on horseback, and furnished the way on either side in maner of a lane; til such time as the corps with the company afore and after the same were entred into the place of Syon. Which was about two of the clock the same day afternoon. And so the chariot was rested afor the west door of the church of Syon. Immediately the herse was light, and tressels set for the corps to be set on. Then was the image of representation taken from the said chair, and caried under the canopy to the vestrey.

Forthwith in like maner the corps was brought by the bishops in *pontificalibus*, (the nobles and ambassadors on either side standing) unto the place appointed under the said herse. Then was the corps covered with a pal of black velvet with a white cross, and the helm and crest at the head, the targe enclining therto. On the right hand wherof was set the sword, and the rich coat embroidered at the feet. On every side of the herse along the quire stood al the banners and standards that were born after the corps as aforesaid; and the four banners of saints holden at the four corners, with many torches brenning on either side the quire, and the body of the church. And so rested a while, til the lords had shifted themselves, and were ready to come to further service.

After they had past an hour, the gentlemen and officers of armes, and others giving their attendance, the mourners were honorably brought to the church,

every man in a long gown in order, according to his degree, with their hoods on their shoulders, save only the mourners, and officers at armes, which had them on their heads. So were the mourners placed in the herse as they were accustomed.

After the bedes bidden by Norroy king at armes, at the quire door, the Bishop of London began the *dirige*, assisted with others in *pontificalibus*, and al the rest of the kings chaplains following the same. And at every lesson the prayers were bade by the king of armes, as afore is mentioned.

The *dirige* and censings ended towards the corps, and al other things therto appertaining, the mourners went in like order to the chamber of presence. From whence they departed every man to his lodging; where they had chear abundantly, in al degrees. And great plenty of meat and drink distributed to al that came. And al men had supped by day-light, and then took them to rest. That night the lord great master charged the watch about the corps, which was don with great reverence and devotion.

About three of the clock the next morning every man prepared himself to await upon the mourners to the divine service. When they came to church they took their places in the herse: and every man in his degree. Where immediately were many masses both sung and said at many altars. Which don, and al the funeral ceremonies aforesaid, the said corps was bestowed in the chariot with like reverence as is before exprest. And the representation with the banerols and other necessities in the same maner set upon the chariot, without any thing diminished, added or changed: and so remained without the church a while.

And after the lords had broken their fasts, every man mounted on horseback, and placed themselves in the same order as they were the day before. And, about seven of the clock, they marched forth from town to town. Where they were received in procession with the priests and clarks of every parish on each side of

the way, censing the corps, as the day before. And al the bells rung in every church against their coming. And so they proceded til they came to Eton.

Where along the churchyard wal were the Bishop of Carlile (the provost) in *pontificalibus*, and al the fellows and masters of the said church in their best ornaments and copes: and by them al the young children, scholars of the college, in their white surplices, bare-headed, holding in the one hand tapers, and in the other books, saying the seven psalms: and, as the corps came by, kneeled and censed it, bidding their *de profundis*, and others prayers. And so the corps passed, til it came to the town of Windsor.

p. 14. Where at the bridg foot the maior and the most substantial men, stood on the one side, and on the other, the priests and clarks: and by them the corps passed through to the castle-gate at one of the clock at afternoon the same day. Where the Bishop of Winchester, with the said college of Windsor, received it, as the Bishop of Carlile and Eton college. Which don, the said royal corps was brought to the west door of the said church. Then every man lighted from horse, and went in the order of their former procedings into the body of the same church; where they stood on either side, attending the bringing up of the said corps into the herse.

In the mean time the said noble herse of thirteen principals was lighted. And then the representation and corps were honorably removed from the chair, with the canopy born by six lords aforesaid: and with al due solemnity and honor was placed and set within the said herse, upon a vyce purposely made for the same. Under which vyce the place of the sepulture was before prepared. The corps being covered with a great pall of black velvet, white crossed with satin, and upon that another rich pall of cloth of tissue. The representation was laid upon the same, as afore is shewed. After certain prayers made, every man departed in due order to counduct the mourners to

their lodgings in the castle. That don they shifted themselves from their riding apparel, and came again in their gowns, and hoods on their shoulders, attending on the chief mourner, til the prelates and the quire were ready.

Then went they in order from the castle to the west door of the church in this maner. First gentlemen, esquires, knights, bannerets, barons, viscounts, earls, ambassadors. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury. Then the mourners with their hoods on their heads, two and two, the chief mourner behind alone ; with Garter after him in the kings coat ; and his train after him, born by the vice-chamberlain : after him the guard, noblemens servants and others, in order went into the church. Where the mourners took their accustomed places under the herse.

At the high altar the Bishop of Winchester, chief prelat of the order, and chief executor of divine service, with al the rest of the bishops stood in *pontificalibus* on either side of the altar.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, with the other the kings executors, placed themselves upon forms on either side the quire beneath the prelat.

The four saints banners were set at the four corners of the herse, in order as aforesaid. And at the feet of the herse, a little behind the altar, stood the L. Talbot with the embroidered banner : and before him the standard of the lion. And on the right hand the dragon, and on the left hand the greyhound : and al other banners and bannerols placed accordingly ; holden by persons appointed, during the time of al the divine service, with their hoods.

On the right hand of the high altar was another altar covered with black, whereupon was set al the hatchments, as helm, crest with mantle, sword, targe, and the kings broidered coat of arms.

And in the queens closet above stood the queen, al the noblemen, ambassadors, with other notable strangers, to se the divine service, and the royal order of the funeralls.

p. 15. Then began the prayers by Norroy king at armes, at the quire door with a loud voice, *Of your charity pray for the soul, &c.* Immediately the chief prelate began the *dirige*. And at every lesson the said Norroy began the bedes aforesaid. When *dirige* with al other service and solemnity was don, every man departed to supper, in order, to the said castle, as they came from the church: and there they had very liberal and sumptuous fare. Supper don, every man departed to his lodging for that night. Then was the watch appointed about the corps as aforesaid.

On the next day, being Wednesday, the 16 day of February, at 4 of the clock in the morning, when lauds were made by the priests that watched, every man attended upon the mourners from the castle to the church, wher they had their accustomed order, and the bedes bidden.

Then the Bishop of Ely began the mass of the Trinity. His deacon and subdeacon were two bishops mitred. Which mass solemnely sung in prick song descant, and organ playing, to the offertory. Then the chief mourner, assisted with the other mourners, and conducted with officers of armes, as aforesaid, offered a piece of gold for the mass, and so departed to their places again.

After that mass was ended, began another, which the Bishop of London did celebrate, and two other bishops in *pontificalibus* for deacon and subdeacon: sung in the same maner, with like ceremonies at the offertory; and so to the end. By that time it was day, fast upon six of the clock, the mourners went in order to the deans place, where breakfast was prepared for them.

In the mean time al the knights of the garter there present came in their mantles of their order, to their oblations, as they are bound to do by the religion. That don they went into the vestrey, and put off their mantles, and went to the mourners to hast them to church.

Forthwith the mourners returned to their places. And al persons hasted together, and gave their attendance, with al the nobility and council in the quire: the emperors ambassadors, and others of foreign nations stood aloft, and beheld the execution of this noble interrment. And after the prayer bidden, the mass of *requiem* began, by the Bishop of Winchester, chief prelate, in *pontificalibus*, and the Bishops of London and Ely, deacon and subdeacon. Which proceded unto the offertory. Then the lord marques being chief mourner, assisted with the other twelve mourners, offered a piece of gold of ten shillings for the mas-peny. And then returned again to the head of the corps, within the herse on the right hand. Then the Earls of Arundel and Oxford, the two next chief mourners, received of Garter the kings broidered coat of armes, and conducted by him to the offering, with much humility and reverence offered the same to the bishop: who delivered the same to Garter again. And he bare it, and laid it reverently upon the altar. The Earls of Derby and Shrewsbury, the next mourners, received of Clarentieux the kings target of armes in the garter, which was offered *ut supra*. Likewise the Earl of Sussex and Rutland, the next mourners, received of Norroy the kings sword, and offered it up in the same sort. The Earls of Shrewsbury and Darby again received of Carlile the herald, the helm and crest, and used them as aforesaid. And with that the man of armes, which was Chydiock Powlet, Esq. came to the quire door upon his horse, in complete harness, al save the head-piece, and a pole ax in his hand, with the point downward. And there he alighted, and was received by the Lord Morley, and the Lord Dacres of the North: and was conducted by officers of armes to the offering: and there he offered the pole axe to the bishop, with the head downward. And the bishop, turning it upward, delivered it to an officer of armes, who bare it to the altar end. And

then the man of armes was had unto the vestry, and there unarmed.

Then Richard Powlet, Esq. with the gentlemen ushers, brought in the palls: which Garter received, and delivered to the chief mourner and others, standing in order, as they were sorted in couples under the herse; the chief mourner last. To whom Garter delivered four rich palls of cloth of gold of bawdkin, and to every earl three, and every baron two. So came the fourth from either side the herse without the barriers to the corps feet; where Garter stood on one side, and Clarentieux on the other, &c. received the said palls in order, as they offered, and laid them at the foot of the said representation. The chief mourner offered last.

Then came in four gentlemen ushers to the head of the corps, conducting the emperors ambassadors, and the ambassadors of France, with the ambassadors of Scotland and Venice: and they offered. Then the chief mourner, with the other twelve mourners, without any estate, went up and offered for themselves.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, and al the rest of the kings executors there present offered, according to their estates and degrees. Then the treasurer, comptroler, and other head officers of the kings house. And after them al other noblemen and gentlemen came up and offered, as many as would.

Then was the pulpit set directly before the high altar, and the Bishop of Winchester began the sermon: whose theme was, "*Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur.*" Where he declared the frailty of man, and community of death to the high and to the low: and showing the pittiful and dolorous loss that al maner men had sustained by the death of so gracious a king. Yet he recomforted them again by the resurrection in the life to come: and exhorted them al to rejoyce, and give thanks to Almighty God; having sent us so toward and vertuous a prince to

reign over us, as our only natural friend, lord and king, at this time present. Desiring al men to continue in obedience and duty, with many other godly exhortations very notably set forth, and with great learning.

And after the sermon don, the mass proceded to the end: and at *verbum caro factum est*, the Lord Windsor offered the standard of the lion; the Lord Talbot offered the banner embroidered: and next to that were the four banners of saints by the bearers therof, to the bishops.

Then came the Dean of Windsor and chaplains, and received the palls from the feet of the representation, and conveyed them forthwith to the vestry.

Then came six knights and received the representation, which was delivered to them by the gentlemen ushers; and so with reverence brought into the vestry. Then was the rich pall removed, and conveyed in like maner.

p. 17.

Then the three bishops that did execute came down to the herse: after whom followed the Archbishop of Canterbury, and stood a little behind the bishops with his crosses. Then the quire with one voice did sing *Circumdederunt me*, with the rest of the canticle funeral; and the bishops censing the corps, with other ceremonies therunto appertaning.

Then was the vault uncovered under the said corps; and the corps let down therein by the vice, with help of sixteen tal yeomen of the guard appointed to the same.

Then proceded the Bishop of Winton in the service of the burial, standing at the head of the said vault, and about the same al the officers of household: that is to say, the Lord St. John, lord great master, the Earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain; Sir Thomas Cheyne, treasurer; Sir John Gage, comptroller; William Knevet, sergeant porter; and the four gentlemen ushers ordinary, standing about the corps, with their staves and rods. Then when the mold was brought and cast in the grave by the pre-

late executing, at the word *Pulverem pulveri & cinerem cineri*, first the lord great master, and after the lord chamberlain and al others aforesaid in order, with heavy and dolorous lamentation, brake their staves in shivers upon their heads, and cast them after the corps within the pit. And then the gentlemen ushers in like maner brake their rods, and threw them into the vault with exceeding sorrow and heavines, not without grievous sighs and tears, not only of them, but of many others, as wel of the meaner sort, as of the nobility, very piteous and sorrowful to behold.

Then after this finished, and *De profundis* said, and the grave covered again with the planks, Garter stood in the midst of the quire, accompanied with al them of his office, in their coats of armes, and with a lowd voice proclaimed the kings majesty stil now living in this form, “Almighty God of his infinite goodnes give good life and long to the most high and mighty prince, our sovereign lord King Edward VI. by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth under God of the church of England and Ireland, the supreme head and sovereign of the most noble order of the garter.” And with that he cryed, *Vive le noble roy Edward*. And the rest of the officers of armes cryed the same three several times after him.

Then the trumpets sounded with great melody and courage, to the comfort of al them that were there present. And al these things were don afore six of the clock of the same day. And then every man departed to his place appointed into the castle. Where they went to their dinners. And after dinner the lords dissevered themselves, and taking their horses, hasted them al to London that night. And thus were the funeral duties of interment of this most mighty and redoubted prince fully accomplished and ended. On whose soul Jesu have mercy. Amen. J. S.

B.

p. 18.

The Lord Protectors Prayer for Gods assistance in the high office of protector and governour, new comitted to him.

LORD God of hosts! in whose only hand is life and death, victory and confusion, rule and subjection; receive me, thy humble creature into thy mercy, and direct me in my requests, that I offend not thy high majesty. O! my Lord, and my God, I am the work of thy hands: thy goodnes cannot reject me. I am the price of thy sons death Jesu Christ; for thy sons sake thou wilt not lese me. I am a vessel for thy mercy; thy justice will not condemn me. I (am recorded in) the book of life: I am written with the very bloud of Jesus; thy inestimable love wil not cancell then my name. For this cause, Lord God, I am bold to speak to thy majesty. Thou, Lord, by thy providence hast called me to rule; make me therfore able to follow thy calling. Thou, Lord, by thine order hast committed an anointed king to my governance: direct me therfore with thy hand, that I erre not from thy good plesure. Finish in me, Lord, thy beginning, and begin in me that thou wilt finish. By thee do kings reign; and from thee al power is derived. Govern me, Lord, as I shal govern: rule me, as I shal rule. I am ready for thy governance; make thy people ready for mine. I seek thy only honour in my vocation: amplify it, Lord, with thy might. If it be thy will I shal rule, make thy congregation subject to my rule. Give me power, Lord, to suppress, whom thou wilt have obey.

I am by appointment thy minister for thy king, a shepherd for thy people, a sword-bearer for thy justice: prosper the king, save thy people, direct thy justice. I am ready, Lord, to do that thou commandest; command that thou wilt. Remember, O God, thine old mercies: remember thy benefits

shewed heretofore. Remember, Lord, me thy servant, and make me worthy to ask. Teach me what to ask, and then give me that I ask. None other I seek to, Lord, but thee; because none other can give it me. And that I seek is thine honour and glory. I ask victory, but to shew thy power upon the wicked. I ask prosperity; but for to rule in peace thy congregation. I ask wisdom, but by my counsel to set forth thy cause. And as I ask for my self, so, Lord, pour thy knowledg upon al them which shal counsil me. And forgive them, that in their offence I suffer not the reward of their evil. If I have erred, Lord, forgive me: for so thou hast promis'd me: if I shal not err, direct me: for that only is thy property. Great things, O my God, hast thou begun in my hand; let me then, Lord, be thy minister to defend them. Thus I conclude, Lord, by the name of thy Son Jesus Christ. Faithfully I commit al my cause to thy high providence: and so rest to advance al humane strength under the standard of thy omnipotency.

p. 19.

C.

The Lord Protector and the other governours of the kings person; to the justices of peace in the county of Norfolk; when a new commission of the peace was sent them.

To our very good lord, the Earl of Sussex, and to our loving friends, Sir Roger Townsend, and Sir William Paston, Knights; and to other justices of peace within the county of Norfolk.

Cott. Libr.
Tit. B. 2.

AFTER our right harty commendations: where the most noble king of famous memory, our late sovereign lord and master, K. Henry VIII. (whom God pardon) upon the great trust which his majesty had in your vertuous wisdoms and good dispositions to the commonwealth of this realm, did especially

name and appoint you among others, by his commission under his great seal of England, to be conservators and justices of his peace within this his county of Norfolk: forasmuch as the said commissions were dissolved by his decease, it hath pleased the kings majesty our sovereign lord that now is, by the advice, and consent of us, the lord protector, and others, executors of our said late sovereign lord, whose names be underwritten, to whom with others the government of his most royal person and the order of his affeyres is by his last wil and testament committed, til he should be of the ful age of eighteen years, to cause new commissions ageyn to be made, for the conservation of his peace throughout this realm: wherof you shal by this bearer receive one for that county: and for that the good and diligent execution of the charge committed to you and others by the same, shal be a notable surety to the king our sovereign lords person that now is (to whom God give encrease of vertue, honor and many years) as a most certain stay to the commonwealth, which must needs prosper where justice hath place and reigneth; WE shal desire you, and in his majesties name charge and command you upon the recepte hereof, with al diligence to assemble yourselves together; and calling unto you al such others as be named in the said commission, you shal first cry and cal to God to give you grace to execute the charge committed unto you with al truth and uprightnes according to your oaths, which you shal endeavour yourselves to do in al things appertaining to your office accordingly, in such sort as al private malice, sloth, negligence, displeasure, disdain, corruption and sinister affections set apart, it may appear that you have God, and the preservation of your sovereign lord and natural country before your eyes; and that you forget not, that by the same your selves, your wives and your children shal surely prosper, and be also preserved.

For the better doing wherof you shal at this your

first assembly make a division of your selves into hundreds or wepentakes ; that is to say, two at the least to have a special ey and regard to the good and order of that or those hundreds, to se the peace duly kept, to se vagabonds, and perturbbers of the peace ponyshed ; and that every man apply himself to do as his calling doth require, and in al things to keep good order without alteration, innovation, or contempt of any thing, that by the laws of our seid late sovereign lord is prescribed, and set forth unto us, for the better direction and framing of our selves towards God and honest policy. And if any person or persons, whom you shal think you cannot rule and order without trouble to the country shal presume to do the contrary, upon your information to us therof, we shal so aid and assist you in the execution of justice and punishment of al such contemptuous offenders, as the same shall be example to others.

And further, his majesties plesure, by the advice and consent aforesaid, is that you shal take such order among you as you fail not once in every six weeks, til you shal be otherwise commanded, to write unto us, the lord protector, and others of the privy council in what state that shire standeth ; and whether any notable things have happened, or were like to happen in those parts, that you cannot redress, which would be speedily met withal and looked unto ; or wherein you shal need any advice or counsil. To the intent we may put our hands to the stay and reformation of it in the beginning, as appertaineth : preying you al to take order that every commissioner in that shire may have a double or copy of this lettre, both for his owne better instruction, and to shew to the jentylmen and such others as inhabit in the hundreds especially appointed to them. That every man may the better conform himself to do trouthe, and help to the advauncement of justice according to their most bounden duties, and as they wil answer for the contrary. Thus fare

you hartily wel. From the Tower of London, the
xii February.

Your loving friends,

E. Hertford.
W. Seint John.
Edw. North.

T. Cantuarien. Tho. Wryothsley, Cancell.
Joh. Russel. Cuth. Durysme. Anthon.
Browne. Will. Paget. Antony Denny,
Will. Herbert.

D.

p. 21

Common places of state : drawn up by Will. Thomas,
Esq; clerk of the council. For King Edwards
use.

- I. *A necessary order which a prince in battayl must observe and keep, if he intend to subdue or pass through his enemies lands.*

E. Biblioth.
R. D. Jo-
hann.
Episc.
Eliens.

FYRST, he must examin, whether hys cause be lawful and just: for in a just cause God shal assyst hym.

Item, He must provyde, that he have a sufficient number of men and money ready for them.

Item, He must counsail wyth the most wyse and expert men of hys realm, of the weyght and daungers that may fal: so that, as far as reason may lead hym, he be not ignoraunt what frute shal follow of hys battail.

Item, He must provyde that hys host lack no vyttayles.

Item, He must se that he lack no engine and other thyng requyred to defend hymself, or invade his enemy.

Item, That he have capytayns expert in warrs, the which shal execute hys commaundement.

Item, Let hym be assuryd of his own cuntry or he invade hys enemy; and yf case require set that quiet, or ells depart not.

Item, Let hym leve behynd hym sum noble and trusted man to order, and, yf nede be, to subdew hys enemyes in hys absence and order them.

Item, That the most strongest fortresse be commytted to his most trusty freyndes.

Item, That he oftentymes consult and counsail with hys wyse and expert counsail: that he may know what is most expedient to do, and let hym use theyr counsail.

Item, When he entreth his enemies lands, he shal cal hys host before hym, that he may know the number, and yf he fynde any unable to battail, to put hym away.

Item, That he have no superfluous carriage. For therof groweth great displeasure; especially when a prynce intendeth short victory. And then let hys vyttayles be hys moost carryage. Wherin must be taken a good order; so that he have them wyth hym, or pass by such places wher it may be had; or els he washeth a stone, that is to say, he laboureth in vayne.

II. *How only by customable usage of dedes of armes the Romayns had the victory of al other nations.*

The old custome to chose knights at sixteen yere of age was to be perfect in theyr age, and to the custom of warr.

Also a prynce must dyligently consyder which be most princypal and most expert; and over that, what every man in hys host hys most apt unto.

p. 22.

For it is very peryllous to set an unexpert man in aucthoryte. For dyvers men have dyvers wytts; and as they be, they must be used. Some be able to rewle an host; some an hundred fotemen; other an hundred horsemen: some be good on horse, some be good on fote, other be good in felde, or battail, other to invade a castel, other to defend it, other sodeynly on horse to invade an host, other swyfte on horseback to espy news, other in ryding to compass

a felde and to note theyr number, other apt to chose a mete or apt place for a felde, other be expert in (the theory of) battaile, and naught when they be at it, whose counsail is not to be refused : other have no experience, howbeit they be valyaunt when they be put therto, other be both expert and victorious, other be able neyther to counsail, defend, nor invade, they be good at home. *Quæ secta inutilis* : other be good in ingynes, other to make bridges and passages, other to espy theyr enemies secrets in dyssimulated habytys, other to gyve counsel and dycuss ambassades, other mete for execution of justice, other mete to kepe a princes treasure, and other thyngs of charge.

Item, The foreward of the battail must be strong, as wel with horsemen as with footmen : and let there be put hys capitains of the valyauntest.

Item, He must consyder that hys felde be set to an advauntage, and accordyng therto the host must be ordered.

Item, That he provyde wher hys host shal commodiously rest or he depart from whence he is ; and diligently let hym note the cuntry, whether it be plain, hilly, mountaynes, or ful of waters, and what straytes be therin.

Item, Yf ye may, let hym have it trewly painted or he enter ; so that the daungiers may be known, and the horsemen may healpe the footmen in tyme of war.

Item, Let hym provyde that hys carriage trouble not hys host, yf they be invaded : wherfore let them be conveyed by the one syde, provyded that they be surely garded.

Item. There must be provysion that al artillery may be surely carryed. For the loss of that is the peryl of the host.

Item, That the explorators be sent to espy the journeys of the adversaryes, and what vyttails they have, with al other thyngs by them intended.

Item, That he take deliberation, yf he may get the friendship of any great man of hys enemyes coun-

sail, by corruption of money or otherwyse ; by whom he may know the purpose of hys said enemies.

Item, That every day there be sent light horsemen to the adversaries host to perceyve theyr purpose, lest they be sodeynly invaded : and also to the intent he may invade them unprovdyed, yf the case so requyred. *Requiruntur multi secreti & fideles.*

Item, Yf he can perceyve that hys adversary intend hasty battayl, let him take hymself in a wayte, that he may provyde hym in takyng of hys felde to his advauntage, and put hymself shortly in order.

p. 23.

Item, Yf he knows any daungerous way betwene him and hys enemyes, he shal by wysdom and dilygence procede toward that, until he come within three or four bowshotes, and ther put hymself in order to invade hys host.

Item, He must espy what artillery hys enemies use, and what order they take.

Item, Every country hath hys maner of fyghting to theyr advauntage, and theyr enemies confusion.

Item, He must beware of every hard and doweiful passage, except he have leasure to convaye hys host, or except necessite compel hym.

Item, It is better to abyde the comyng to a battayl, then to invade : for the fyrst commers commonly lack order.

Item, Yf the enemyes ride out of order, and wander, invade them ; for lack of order shal destroy them.

Item, Yf thynne enemies draw to hostry of no strength, and disperse themselfe, then they be easilyer taken.

Item, When the host draweth neer to the enemies, let the wards come nygh together for their better surcottes.

Item, That footmen be on the one syde not myxt with horsemen, *quòd generaretur confusio.*

Item, In every ward must be some with hand gunns, crosbowes and other manual ingins ; and likewise in the latter ward, to put asyde the light horsemen.

Item, Yf he may, let hym provyde that the sun and wynd be for hym, specially for dust, yf there be any.

Item, Yf he be horsed and stronger than hys enemy, let hym provoke hym to open battayle in the playne felde; and yf his footmen be myghtier than hys enemies horsemen, let hym take the advauntage of a streyght place.

Item, When he invadeth hys enemy, let hys caryage be put in the one syde, and surely garded.

Item, He shal put hys ingyns of battayl betwene him and his enemyes, and wel defend them.

Item, Yf he be compelled to follow hys enemy, and for default of vittayl to invade therin; or yf he dread lest hys host fortify his company, so that he cannot escape, except he overcome his host, let hym study to break hys felde, that is to say, let hym vex them with gonnes, and other poynts of warr; so that they may disorder themselves.

Item, A prynce must note the tyme, and use as it serveth hym.

Item, When he is actually entred battayl, hys host shal stand styl in a cluster, and in no wyse remove from the place, whatsoever he se; though he se his company partly flee and partly slayne; and also though he se hys enemyes flee: for order maketh and marreth al.

Item, When thou hast invaded thyne enemies with the fore and hynder ward, let the myddle stand styff and close to help both, as nede shal requyre. And when both wards have wel fought, let the myddle ward fyght; but for al that, let them not disorder themselfe, except compulsyon.

Item, He must have provysion for passages of waters. P. 24.

Item, Before the battayle, a prynce must se the order of his host, and reform al thyngs mysordered: and thys may not be forgotten.

Item, He shal shew them, that he wyl lyve and dy with them that day: and that besydes theyr

perpetual honour he wyl never forget to honour and reward them: and for this let him se couragious prynces orations, as Alexander, Catalyne, with other infinite, &c.

Item, He shal neyther magnify his enemy, nor despise hym, but encourage hys capytains to kepe theyr order; and if that they so do, the vycictory wyl follow.

Item, He shal practyse, that both hys enemy and hys host may alway thynk that more strength is commyng to hym.

Item, That he se no robbyng, and that he commaund hys captayns to se that observed upon payne of death.

Item, That he execute indifferently justice, and punish them that cause debates.

Item, When hys enemies do treat of peace, then let hymself lefte awayt. *Propter pericula in hoc casu experta.*

Item, Let no man pass his cuntry and invade another, without nede requyre; except he se how he may return with honour, or how he may surely abyde there. It is but symplenes to go up and down in a cuntry, and to ryde far in it. And hard it is to be long sure in a cuntry straunge, and to return with honour. For in the time of Talbot, XL knyghts of England layd sege to the town of Roane; and when they lacked that was necessary for theyr defence, therfore they lost it. And lyke thynges were done at Britain, at Vans, where they lost al.

Item, Yf any tydings come, forthwith let them be heard and follow them, as the tyme shal serve.

Item, A prynce must be keping hys promyse, ells no man shall trust hym.

Item, He must study to have the favour of the best of the country, and he must be just and egall.

Item, A prince must study to have the friendship of the cuntries adjoyning: and let hym not have battayl with divers at once, except he be compelled. For there is moche suttelty used.

Item, In the day of the battayl he must have about hym a certen of the wysest and most expert men, to kepe, follow and counsaile them.

Item, He must provyde that hys enemyes espy not the number of hys host and the order of the same.

Item, Yf it fortune hym to lese a battayl or two, or to lese hys artillery, then policy (it) is to resort to some fortres, and there to cal hys host together, and to refresh them as needeth, and to get new men, and to take peace yf he can: and in the wean tyme to make hys fortres strong, tyl he be able by some means to make battail, and to have al thyngs redy therfore.

Item, He shal set hys tents nygh to hys enemyes host, that he may trouble and break theyr array.

Item, He must beware that he be not beseged.

Item, He must beware, that after one battayl lost, he begyn not another forthwith, except necessite compell hym. For after a dystrage the host cannot soddenly be apt to fyght: for wounds and mournyngs shal let them; and theyr enemies after vycory be more imbolded; howbeyt oftentimes men thynk upon dyspleasure to be revenged; and so for lack of polycy take fury rebuke. And in thys maner Charles Duke of Burgon was destroyed. Wherefore set reason before wyll, and begyn to thynk nothing hard to perfourme.

p. 25.

Item, Yf thou wynn a battayl, or a fortress of thyne enemies, pursew hym graciously, and suffer hym neyther to rest, nor to restable hys strength. Wysdom it is to follow the advauntage.

Item, Yf thou get a cuntry, commit it to some great man; and lykewyse of fortresses: and let hym be wel entreated, and lack no money: for such men would be cherished.

III. *The maner of besegyng a fortress.*

FYRST, a prynce must remembre, whether he have sufficyent men to besege it in three dyvers parties;

and whether over that, he have men sufficient for his own defence, and money both.

Item, He must provide artillery and vittayls necessary, and let hym wel beware that his vittayl come not to his enemies hands, and this principal to be noted.

Item, He must espy some man that knoweth the strength of the fortress, and their counsayl must he use.

Item, He must espy how it be most easily taken, and where his host may best set their felde for their assurety.

Item, That done, set them in the foreward that were before sent to espy the strength of the fortress, wel furnyshed with archers and dyggers, and al other thyngs.

Item, Let them come as nygh to the walls as they can: and so order them, that they may reject their enemies darts.

Item, Above al thyngs provide, that nothing may pass out, or enter into the fortress. For yf one gate be open, it shal be never overcome.

Item, Let one ward be ever ready to help the other, as nede shal requyre.

Item, The fyrst day of besegying, the felde must be fortyfied.

Item, Men must be sent to every place to espy, whether any rescue be intended, &c. And yf it so be, let hym consyder their power; and if he see paryl, remove his host and his artillery, lest he be invaded in both sydes, and voyde to some sure fortress for the tyme.

Item, Yf he se his enemies of smal power, he may set some to fyght with them, and other to kepe the sege.

Item, When the walls be broken, fortify his men, and make an assawte; provided that he leve behynd them both horsemen and fotemen, to withstand his back enemies. For that not doying, the Earl of Arminac lost Bysander, a castel of Lumbardy.

Item, Yf he be put aback in the fyrst conflict, let hym invade as sone as the day followyng: for upon a vycctory oftentymes the oppidan is benegligent, trustyng not sodeynly to be invaded. By thys provysion many places and fortresses hath ben optained.

Item, Many other thyngs be requyred: howbeit a prynce must specially beware of treason and simulation.

IV. *How a prynce beseged shal order hymself.*

ABOVE al thyng a prynce must study as wel in tyme of peace, as in warr, to know hys neyghbours mynds; and oftentymes to send orators to them as wel to nouryshe love, as to know theyr good wyll.

Item, Yf he se by a prynces ordinaunce, that he intendeth warr, let hym streyngthe hys fortress toward that contry.

Item, Let hym make some friend in that prynces house, by whom he may know what is intended.

Item, Yf he be assured, that the prynce intendeth hym war, let hym prepare an host of as myghty men as hys money wil suffer hym to doo. And yf he thynk hym suffycient to overcome hym, let hym follow hys fortune, and tarry hys enemy in the entry to hys contry; or, yf he may, in hys enemyes contry.

Item, Yf he thynk hymself unsuffycient in men and money, let hym fortyfy hys hedde places next to hys enemyes, and garde them with money.

Item, Yf there be moo fortresses then he may furnysh, let them be take down; and al maner vittayl be caryed from thens, and the cuntry left bare.

Item, Let hym have good capytayns in hys fortresses; the which may do hys enemyes dayly displeasure and dysperse hys host, as it was done at Metz and other places.

Item, Horsemen must be provyded, as it shal be thought necessary, to take the messengers, and then make provision with order.

Item, Yf such obstacles be purveyed for enemies, they shal little prevayle.

V. *How a fortress shal be kept : and how they that be beseged shal order theyrselfe.*

FYRST, dygge up the erth to the heyght of the wals, for gons and other ingyns.

Item, The bulwarks must be fortyfied: and he must beware, that the inner buyldyings joyn not to the wals: for nygh to the wal inwardly must be made a trench to a good heyght: so that yf the wal fayl, the wal of erth may help.

Item, He must have good capytayns to order and visit hys watch of the wals, and men expert.

p. 27.

Item, Crosbows, bumbards, dykers, physicians, surgeons, poticaryes, with al other thyngs necessary.

Item, He must have one capitayn to order hys watches, as nede shal requyre.

Item, Every night the walls must be sene, and an order set and kept for theyr sure custody.

Item, There must be watch kept nygh to the walls, to help theyr keepers, as nede shal requyre; and also to withstand inward treason.

Item, Yf there be any noyse, let every man go to theyr own place: for oftentimes such noyse is made, to make men rounne together, whyle their enemies invade.

Item, Let it be taken heed theyrwhyles, that theyr waters be not poysoned.

Item, When he shal invade, let hym wel counsayl, and hys commodities foresene.

Item, Yf the wals be broken, let them be amended forthwith, for fear of invasion: as it was at Rhodes, whyles the lord was at mass.

Item, Let it ever be commoned, that more people shal come, to help to put them in better comfort.

Item, A prince must beware that there be no murmur in the host, and if there be, that they be openly punyshed.

Item, Yf the capitain understand that any battail is lost, or fortress taken, unknown unto hys host, let that be secret: and let hym ever shew hys host thynge of comfort and pleasure.

Item, In the principal parts must be set pryncipal men.

Item. He must have guydes, that know the cuntry.

Item, Yf any message come, let hym ponder, and depely discusse it, and be not over lyght of credence.

Item, Yf it be a cuntry of hylls, waters, or of strays, he must have the moo footmen.

Item, When it is proceded in battayl, some wyse men strong and sure must be left behynd, lest they invade in the inner part of the battayl.

Item, Let net new locks of gates oft be made for fear of counterfeyting: and it must be provyded of sure keepers.

Item, In the nyght there must be sure watch about the yates, for daungers that may fall: as it was don at Arras.

Item, There must be made barrars, nygh unto the fortress, for the defence of footmen, and the savety of horsemen, and dyvers other consyderations.

Item, The wals shal be strengthened with thornes for shakyng.

Item, Prysoners must be wel entreated: and yf thou take hym that is not trew unto hys prynce, punysh him forthwithall.

Item, Yf any enemies treat of delyverance of their fortresses, hear it wel, but be not light of credence: for there be many sotteltyes ymagined. And at Betynam many were by that mean destroyed.

Item, The watch must be kept all nyght, and the watchmen not depart, until every thyng be sure.

Item, When the yates must be opened, there must be so many present as may withstand the secret assault of theyr enemies. For by thys mean Ley-stoure was taken. For when two or three had opened the yates, theyr enemyes secretly hydd, invaded them and slew them; and there was treason within.

p. 28.

Item, There must be many porters ; for few may be soon slayne by treason, &c.

Item, If any in the nyght season cal to come in, the which by name and voyce be known, that notwithstanding lye secret espyes, that it be known what number there be of them. And when thou openest the utter gates, se the inner gate shytted: for Frenchmen by thys mean toke Moelam: for four traitors fayning that they had brought English men from the battayl of S. Denys, they opened the gates, and were deceyved.

Item, Many men wyl consyder and counsail dyverse and great thyngs to be attempted: be not swyft to follow theyr counsail.

Item, Some be ignoraunt, and dread no paryll.

Item, Some wyl persuade and counsayl great thyngs to be done, that they may be taken and thought couragious; the which in effect be of no courage.

Hi in bello extremi.

Item, Let hym beware that none of hys host have too great famlyarite with hys enemies, for fear of treason.

Item, When he wyl battayll, let it be secretly done, that the guyders know it not, and let the gates be fast shytted before he cause (hys) men to put them in armes. Also, let men be set to kepe dylygently the passages out of the city, that none may go unto theyr enemyes to shew the preparations that are made against them. Also, when he shal come unto the felde with hys enemyes to fyght, let hym take a way contrary unto that way which myght be thought he would take; and after he hath gon two or three myles in that way, let hym return unto the way which was first thought that he wold have taken. But let hym take good hede, that neyther the guydes, nor other of hys company know, whither he wyl go, unto the tyme that they be in the feylde.

Item, Yf any of the carriages or guydes of the waynes come into the town, let it be sene that at their comyng in, one of the yates be shytted.

Item, Yf it fortune any of the sowldyers to be hurte or wounded in battayl, or ells out of the battayl, let the princes, or theyr ministers, se the medycyne be minystred unto them in dew order. Let them be visited and gently intreated with good and soft words. And let them neyther lack physician nor surgeon. For these sayd thyngs do encourage and nourysh the hartes of warryers, and make them strong and wylling to fyght.

Item, It behoveth a prynce to make good search, and to know, which of hys company be most diligent, valyaunt, and taught in feats of war; and of them to make most, and to nourysh them with great liberalyte accordyng to theyr meryts. For the liberalyte of a prynce cawseth hys company to be diligent, and also multiplyeth and encreaseth the same.

Item, It apperteyneth to a prince to forbidd, that none of hys company entend conflyct, or to go out of hys host without lycence of theyr capytayns. p. 29.

Item, Many other thyngs might be rehersed, whereby enemyes might be constreyned and repressed: but take thys for a general conclusyon, that the effect of battayl consysteth and standeth in three thyngs, that is to say, in abundance of money, in good order put and kept, and in following the counsail and advertysment of wyse and expert warryers.

VI. *To pacify the sedition of sowldyours.*

When A. Manlius, consul, had perceyved, that hys sowldiours grudged against the men of Campania, where they were now lodged, conspiryng togyther to slee their hostes, and after to take away their goods; he spred abroad thys rumour, that they shulde ly there styl al the wynter. And thus they of their purpose let and dysturbed, he delyvered Campania from great peryll, and as tyme and occasyon served, punyshed them that were causers of that sedition.

What tymes the legyons of the Romayns were furyously sent and bent on peryllous sedytion, Lucius

Sylla restored them from theyr rage unto a quyetness by thys polycy: he commaunded that word shuld be brought hastily to the host that theyr enemyes were at hand, and that they should raise up a cry, and cal them to harness, and blow up the trumpets: wherby he brak off the sedytion, they altogether uniting as nede requyred, agaynst their enemyes.

What tyme Pompeius host had slayne the senatours of Millan, for fear of trouble and busynes that myght have happened, yf he shuld have called the offenders alone to examination, he sent for them al togyther, as wel for the faultles as the gyltie; so that they semed to be sent for for some other purpose. And therfore appeared they that were faultie with less fear, bycause they came not alone. And they whose consyence pleded them not gyltie gave good attendaunce to kepe them that were faultie, lest peradventure theyr escape and flyght myght have tourned them to displeasure.

p. 30.

E.

The names of the Knights of the Bath, made by King Edward the Sixth, Febr. 20, Shrove Sunday, being the day of his coronation.

Ex. Offic.
Armor.
No I. 7.

The Duke of Suffolk.
The Earl of Hertford.
The Lord Matravers.
The Lord Strange.
The Lord Lysle.
The Lord Cromwel.
The Lord Scrope's Son
and Heir.
Sir Francis Russel.
Sir Anthony Browne.
Sir John Gates.
Sir Alex. Umpton, of Ox-
fordshire.

The Earl of Oxford.
The Earl of Ormonde.
The Lord Talbot.
The Lord Herbert.
The Lord Charles Brandon.
The Lord Hastings.
The Lord Windsors Son
and Heir.
Sir Richard Devereux.
Sir Henry Semour.
Sir Anthony Cook, of Essex
Sir George Norton.
Sir Robert Lytton.

Sir Valentine Knightley.	Sir John Port, of Darbyshire.	
Sir Geo. Vernon, of the Peak.	Sir Christopher Barker, Garter.	
Sir Thomas Housselyn.	Sir James Hales.	
Sir Edmund Mollineux.	Sir Thomas Brycknal.	* Perhaps Babthorp.
* Sir William Balthrope.	Sir Amgel Mariam.	
Sir Tho. Nevyl, of Hold.	Sir John Cutts, of Essex.	† Thomas, perhaps, that was kt. marshal.
† Sir ——— Holcroft.	Sir William Scarington.	
Sir Henry Tyrrel.	Sir William Snathe.	
Sir Wymond Carew.		

These knights being fourty in number, being nominated of the Bath, and made with so great royalty, were commanded to pay the duties of mony double to the same payable by other knights.

The Knights of the Carpet, dubbed by the king on Shrove Tuesday in the morning; viz. some of them the same day, and the rest at other times, during the Utas of the abovesaid noble solemnization, being 55 in all.

Sir {	John Radcliff.	Sir {	William Hollers.	p. 31.
	Thomas Gray.		William Rainsford.	
	John Windham.		William Pickering.	
	John Vaughan.		Hary Doyle.	
	Anth. Heviningham.		—— Drury.	
	John Wentworth.		George Harper.	
	John Godsolve.		John Norton.	
	Thomas Guilford.		Thomas Nevyl.	
	John Savage.		William Stanley.	
	Walter Savage.		John Butler, of Gloucestershire.	
	Humphrey Stafford.		John Shelton, of Suff.	
	George Pierpoint.		Anthony Anger.	
	Thomas FitzHerbert		John Mason.	
	Thomas Hanmar.		Richard Cotton.	
	George Brocket.		Thomas Newman.	
	John Horsey.		Philip Calthorp.	
	John Salisbury.			

Sir {	Maurice Denis.	Sir {	Thomas Bell.
	Rowland Martin.		Rice Gryffith.
	Thomas Dyer.		Thomas Gravener.
	— Barneston.		Thomas Hollers.
	Roger Guilford.		Thomas Wroth.
	Edward Rogers.		John Cary.
	Roger Blewit.		Urien Brereton.
	John Horsey.		John Butler.
	Francis Inglesfield.		Thomas Kemp.
	John Spring.		Robert Langley.
	[John Grevil.		[John a Ryce.

F.

A Ballad sung to K. Edward, in Cheapside, as he
past through London to his coronation.

Ubi supra. SING, up heart, sing, up heart, and sing no more downe,
But joy in King Edward that weareth the crowne.

Sir, song in time past hath been downe a downe,
And long it hath lasted in Tower and towne:
To have it much meeter, *downe* hath been added;
But *up* is more sweeter to make our hearts gladded.
Sing, up heart, &c.

King Edward up springeth from puerilitie,
And toward us bringeth joy and tranquillitie;
Our hearts may be light and merry chere,
He shal be of such might, that al the world may him fear.
Sing, up heart, &c.

His father, late our sovereign, both day and also houre,
That in joy he might reign like a prince of high power,
By sea and land hath provided for him eke,
That never King of England had ever the leke.
Sing, up heart, &c.

p. 52. He hath gotten already Boleigu, that goodly town,
And biddeth sing speedily, up, up, and not downe.
When he waxeth wight, and to manhood doth spring,
He shall be strait then of four realms the king.
Sing, up heart, &c.

Yee children of England, for the honour of the same,
 Take bow and shaft in hand, learn shootage to frame;
 That you another day may so do your parts,
 To serve your king as wel with hands as with hearts.
 Sing, up heart, &c.

Yee children that be towards, sing up, and not downe,
 And never play the cowards to him that weareth the crowne:
 But alway do your care his plesure to fulfil,
 Then shal you keep right sure the honour of England still.
 Sing, up heart, &c.

G.

Queen Katharine Parrs letter, in Latin, to the Lady Mary; concerning her translation of Erasmus Paraphrase upon the Gospel of S. John.

CUM multa sint, nobilissima ac amantissima Do-
 mina, quæ me facile invitant hoc tempore ad scriben-
 dum, nihil tamen perinde me movet atque cura vale-
 tudinis tuæ, quam, ut spero, esse optimam, ita de
 eadem certiolem fieri, magnopere cupio. Quare
 mitto hunc nuntium quem judico fore tibi gratissi-
 mum, tum propter artem illam musicæ, qua te simul
 ac me oppidò oblectari non ignoro; tum quod a me
 profectus tibi certissimè referre possit de omni statu
 ac valetudine meâ. Atque sanè in animo fuit ante
 hunc diem iter ad te fecisse, téque coram salutâsse;
 verum voluntati meæ non omnia rêsponderunt. Nunc
 spero hac hyeme, idque propediem, propius nos esse
 congressuras. Quo sane mihi nihil erit jucundum
 magis, aut magis volupe.

Vespasian,
 F. 3.
 Cott. Libr.

Cum autem, ut accepi, summa jam manus imposita sit per Maletum operi Erasmico in Johanneni (quod ad translationem spectat) neque quicquam nunc restet, nisi ut justa quædam vigilantia ac cura adhibeatur in eodem corrigendo. Te obsecro, ut opus hoc pulcherrimum atque utilissimum, jam emendatum per Maletum aut aliquem tuorum, ad me transmitti cures; quo suo tempore prelo dari possit: atque

p. 33. porro significes, an sub tuo nomine in lucem felicissimè exire velis, an potius incerto autore. Cui operæ mea sane opinione injuriam facere videberis, si tui nominis autoritate etiam posteris commendatum iri recusaveris: in quo accuratissimè tranferendo tantos labores summo reip. Bono suscepisti; plurésque (ut satis notum est) susceptura, si valetudo corporis permisisset. Cum ergo in hac re abs te laboriosè admodum sudatum fuisse nemo non intelligat, cur quam omnes tibi meritò deferant laudem rejicias, non video. Attamen ego hanc rem omnem ita relinquo prudentiæ tuæ, ut quamcúnque velis rationem inire, eam ego maximè approbandam censuero.

Pro crumena quam ad me dono misisti ingentis tibi gratias ago. Deum opt. max. precor, ut vera ac intaminata felicitate perpetuò te beare dignetur. In quo etiam diutissimè valeas. Ex Hanworthia 20. Septembris.

Tui studiosissima ac amantissima

KATHERINA REGINA KP.

H.

Queen Katherine Par to K. Henry; gone in his expedition against France.

MSS.
penes me. ALTHOUGH the dyscourse of tyme and accompte of days nether ys long nor many of your majesties absens, yet the want of your presens so much beloved and desired of me, maketh me, that I cannot quyetly pleasur in any thyng, until I hear from your majesty. The tyme therfor semeth to me very long wythe a great desire to know how your hyeghness hath done, syns your departyng hens. Whos prosperite and helthe I prefer and desyre more than myne own. And whereas I know your majesties absens ys never wythout gret respects of thyngs moost convenyent and necessary, yet love and affection compelleth me to desyre your presens. And

again, the same zeale and love forceth me also to be best content wyth that whych ys your wyl and pleasure. And thus love maketh me in al thynges to set apart myne own commodite and pleasure, and to embrace moost joyfully hys wyl and pleasure whom I love. God, the knower of secrets, can jage these words not to be only wrytten wyth ynke, but moost truly impressed in the hart. Muche more I omytt, lest I schulde seme to go about to prayse my self, or crave a thank. Whych thyng to do I mynde nothyng lesse, but a playn symple relacyon of my zeale and love towards your majestie, procedyng from the abundance of the herte. Wheryn I must nedes confesse I deserve no worthy commendatyon, havynge such just occasion to do the same.

I make lyke accompte wythe your majestie, as I do wythe God for hys benefyts and gyftes heped upon me dayly: knowlegyng my self always a gret detter unto hym, in that I do omytt my dutye towards hym, not being able to recompence the leste of hys benefyts. In whyche state I am certayne and sure to dy. But yet I hope in his gracyous acceptation of my good wyll. And even such confidence I have in your majesties gentylnes. Knowyng my self never to have done my duty, as wer requysite and mete to such a noble and worthy prince; at whose hands I have founde and receyved so muche love and goodnes, that wyth words I cannot express yt. Lest I should be to tedyous unto your majesty I fynysche thys my scrybeled letter, commyttyng you into the governance of the Lord, wyth long life and prosperous felicity here, and after thys lyf to enjoy the kyngdom of hys elect. From Grenwyche.

p. 34.

By your majesties humble, obedyent,

Lovyng wife and servant,

KATERYN THE QUEENE KP.

I.

*A Poem, pretended to be writ against the preachers,
intituled, A Pore Help.*

The bucklar and defence of mother holy kyrke,
And weapon to dryve hence al that against her wyrke.

Biblioth.
R. D. Joh.
Ep. Elien.

WIL none in al this land,
Step forth and take in hand,
These fellows to withstand,
In number like the sand;
That with the gospel melles,
And wil do nothyng elles,
But trattling tales telles:
Against our holy prelatie,
And holy churches dignitie,
Saying, it is but papistrie,
Yea, fained and hypocrisie,
Erroneous and heresie:
And taketh their autoritie
Out of the holy evangelie;
Al customes ceremonial
And rites ecclesiastical,
Not grounded on scripture,
No longer to endure.
And thus ye may be sure
The people they allure,
And draw them from your lore,
The which wil grieve you sore.
Take hede I say therefore,
Your nede was never more.

2.

But sens ye be so slacke
It grieveth me alacke,
To heare behind your backe;
How they wil carpe and cracke.
And none of you that dare
With one of them compare.
Yet some there be that are
So bold to shew there ware.
And is no priest nor deacon,
That yet wil fire his becon,
Against such fellows fraile,
Make out with tothe and nayle,
And hoiste up maine saile,
And manfully to fyght
In holy prelates right,

With pen and ynke and paper,
And like no trifling japer,
To touch these fellows daper?

3.

And I indede am he,
That wayteth for to se,
Who dare so hardy be,
To encounter here with me.
I stand here in defence
Of sum that be far hence,
And can both blysse and cense,
And also undertake
Right holy thyngs to make,
Yea, God within a cake;
And whoso that forsake,
His bread shal be dowe bake.
I openly profess
The holy blissed mess
Of strength to be no less,
Then it was, at the first.
But I would see who durst
Set that among the worst,
For he should be accurst,
With boke and bel and candel:
And so I would him handel,
That he should right wel know
How to escape I trow,
So hardy on his head
Deprave our holy bread:
Or else to prate or patter
Against our holy water.
This is a playne matter,
It nedeth not to flatter.

4.

They be such holy thinges,
As hath bene us'd with kings.
And yet these leud loselles
That bragg upon their gospelles,

At ceremonies swelles,
 And at our christned belles,
 And at your long gownes,
 And at your shaven crownes,
 And at your tippetts fyne,
 The javells wil repyne.
 They say, ye lead evil lives,
 With other mennys wyves,
 And wil none of your owne.
 And so your sede is sowne
 In other mennys grounde,
 True wedlocke to confounde.
 Thus do they rayle and rave,
 Calling every priest knave,
 That loveth messe to say,
 And after idel al day.
 They would not have you play,
 To drive the time away :
 But brabble on the Byble,
 Which is but impossible,
 To be lerned in al your life :
 Yet therein they be rife,
 Which maketh all this strife.
 And also the paraphrases,
 Much differing from your por-
 teises,

They would have dayly used,
 And portaise clean refused;
 But they shall be accused,
 That have so far abused
 Their tongues against such ho-
 liness
 And holy churches busines.

5.

Many hundred yeres ago,
 Great clearcks affimeth so,
 And other many mo,
 That searched to and fro
 In scripture for to fynd,
 What they might leave behind,
 For to be kept in mind,
 Among the people blinde,
 As wavering as the winde ;
 And wrote therof such bokes,
 That whoso on them lokes,
 Shal find them to be clarkes,
 As proveth by their warkes.
 And yet there be that barke,
 And say they be but darke.

But hark, ye loulars, harke,
 So wel we shal you marke,
 That, if the world shal turn,
 A sort of you shal burn.
 Ye durst as wel, I saye
 Within this two yeres day,
 As sone to run away,
 As such parts to play.
 When sum did rule and reyne,
 And auncient things maintayn,
 Which now be counted vayne,
 And brought into disdayne.
 Such men I say they were,
 As loved not this geare,
 And kept you stil in feare,
 To burn, or faggots beare.
 Then durst ye not be bold
 (Against our lerninges old,
 Or images of gold,
 Which now be bought and
 sold ;
 And were the laymans boke
 Wheron they ought to loke)
 One word to speake amisse ;
 No, no, yee foles, I wysse,
 A thing to playne it is.

6.

Then did these clarks devyne,
 Dayly themselves encline
 To prove and to defyne,
 That Christs body above,
 Which suffered for our love,
 And dyed for our behove,
 Is in the sacrament,
 Flesh, bloud and bone present.
 And bread and wine away,
 As sone as they shal say
 The words of consecration
 In time of celebration,
 So must it be indede,
 Though it be not in the crede.
 And yet these fellows new
 Wil say, it is not true,
 Christs body for to view
 With any bodyly eye,
 That do they playne deny,
 And stiffly stand thereby :
 And enterprise to write,
 And also to endight

p. 36.

Bokes both great and smal
 Agaynst these fathers al,
 And heresy it cal,
 That any man should teach,
 Or to the people preach
 Such thyngs without their reach.
 And some there be that say,
 That Christ cannot al day
 Be kept within a box,
 Nor yet set in the stocks,
 Nor hidden like a fox,
 Nor prisoner under locks,
 Nor clothed with powdred ar-
 min,

Nor bredeth stinking vermin,
 Nor dwelleth in an howse,
 Nor eatyn of a mowse,
 Nor mould or he be spent,
 Nor yet in fire be brent,
 Nor can no more be slayne,
 Nor offered up agayne.
 Blessed sacrament! for thy pas-
 sion,

Hear and se our exclamation
 Agaynst these men of new
 fashion,

That strive agaynst the holy
 nacion,

And jest of them in playes,
 In taverns and high ways,
 And theyr good acts disprays:
 And martyrs would them make
 That brent were at a stake,
 And sing pipe merri annot,
 And play of wilnot cannot,
 And as for cannot and wilnot,
 Though they speke not of it, it
 skil not.

p. 37.

7.

For a nobler clark of late,
 And worthy in estate
 Hath played with them check-
 mate,

Theyr courage to abate,
 And tells them such a tale,
 As makes their bonnets vail,
 And marreth clean the sale
 Of al their whole pastime,
 And al is done in rhyme.

Oh! what a man is thys,
 That if he could, I wyss,
 Would mend that is amyss.
 His meaning is indede,
 That if he might wel spede,
 And beare some rule agayne,
 It should be to their payne.
 I think they were but worthy,
 Because they be so sturdy
 To rayl agaynst the wirke
 Of our mother holy kyrke.
 Yet some there be in fume,
 And proudly do presume,
 Unto this lerned man
 To answer and they can,
 And wene they had the grace,
 His balad to deface.

8.

And trowe you that wil be ?
 Nay, nay, beleve ye me,
 I take my mark amyss,
 If once he did not myss
 A very narrow hyss.
 Wel, if you come agen,
 May happen twelve men
 Shal do as they did then.
 Have you forgot the bar,
 That ever ther you ware,
 And stode to make and mar
 By God and by the contrey,
 You had a narrow entrey,
 Take hede of *Coram nobis*,
 We wil reckon with *Vobis*,
 If you come ageu,
 We wil know who pulled the
 hen.

For al your bold courage,
 You may pay for the pottage.
 And are you now so bragg
 You may come to tagg.
 Your hap may be to wagg
 Upon a wooden nagg.
 Or else a fair fyre
 May happ to be your hyre.
 Take hede lest you tyre,
 And ly downe in the myre.
 Hold fast by the main ;
 By the masse it is no game.

If my lord wax not lame,
 You wil al be tame.
 When you heare him next,
 Mark wel his text.
 He hath bene curstly vext,
 I fere me he be wext
 A popistant stouȝt.
 Surely al the rout,
 That heareth him shal doubt,
 He wil be in and out,
 Prowling round about,
 To get forth the snout.
 If prayer may do good,
 All the whole brood,
 Skurvy, skabbed and skald,
 Shaven, shorn and bald,
 Pore priests of Boal,
 We pray for him al,
 Unto the god of bread.
 For if he be dead,
 We may go to bedd
 Blindfold, and be ledd
 Without ragg or shred.

9.

But I am sore adred
 I se him loke so red,
 Yet I durst ley my head,
 As Doctor Fryer said,
 He hath somewhat in store.
 Wel, you shal know more,
 Harken wel therfore,
 Some shal pay the skore.
 He hath bene a pardoner,
 And also a *Gardener*.
 He hath bene a vitayler,
 A lordly hospitelor,
 A noble teacher,
 And soso a preacher.
 Tho Germyn his man
 Were hanged, what than?
 Say worse and you can.
 Best let him alone,
 For Peter, James and John,
 And apostles every one,
 (I give you playne warning)
 Had never no such learynge,
 As hath this famous clarke.
 He is lerned beyond the mark.

10:

And also Mayster Huggarde,
 Doth shew himself no slug-
 gard,
 Nor yet no drunken drunkard,
 But sharpeth up his wyt,
 And frameth it so fyt,
 These yonkers for to hyt,
 And wil not them permit
 In error styl to sit.
 As it may wel appeare
 By his clarkly answer:
 The which intituled is,
 Agaynst what meaneth this.
 A man of old sort,
 And writeth not in sport,
 And answereth earnestly,
 Concluding heresy.
 And yet as I trowe,
 Some bluster and blowe
 And crake (as the crowe.)
 But netts wil we lay,
 To catch them, if we may.
 For if I begin
 I wil bring them in,
 And fetch in my cosyns
 By the whole dosens,
 And call them *Coram nobis*,
 And teach them *Dominus vobis*,
 With *Et cum spiritu tuo*,
 That holy be both *Duo*,
 When they be said and songe
 In holy Latine tongue.
 And solemne bells be rounge,
 But these babes be too yonge;
 Perking upon their pattins,
 And fain would have the mat-
 tins,
 And evening song also,
 In English to be do,
 With mariage and baptising,
 Burials and other thing,
 In volgar tongue to say and sing.
 And so they do it newly,
 In divers places truly;
 Saying, they do but duely;
 Maynteining it in any wyse,
 So should they do theyr ser-
 vice.

11.

Alass ! who would not mone,
 Or rather grout or grone,
 To se such service gone,
 Which saved many one
 From deadly sin and shame,
 And many a spot of blame ;
 From purgatory payne,
 And many shower of rayne.
 Wel, yet I say agayn
 Some honest men remayne,
 And kepe their customes stil,
 And evermore wil.
 Wherefore indede my read is,
 To take you to your beadis,
 Al men and women, I say,
 That useth so to pray,
 That such good priestes may
 Continue so alway,
 Or els none other like,
 But al lyeth in the dyke.
 And loke ye do not faynt,
 But pray to some good saynt,

That he may make restraynt
 Of al these straunge fashions,
 And great abominacions.
 Because I may not tary,
 I pray to swete Sir Harry,
 A man that wil not vary,
 And one that is no skulker,
 But kna. knyght of the sepul-
 chre,

That he may stand fast,
 And be not overcast,
 Or els to be the last
 Of al them that do yelde
 In city, town or field.
 For if he stick therein,
 No doubt he shal not blin
 Tyl he come to eternitie,
 With al his whole fraternitie.
 Amen, therefore, say ye,
 That his partakers be.
 Ye get no more of me.

p. 39.

K.

Queen Katharin Par to the University of Cambridge, which had addressed to her to intercede with the king for them ; upon an act, wherby the parliament had given him al colleges, chauntries, and free chappels.

MSS.
penes me.

YOUR letters I have receyved, presented on al your behalves by Mr. Doctour Smythe, your discrete and lernyd advocate. And as they be latynely wrytten (which ys so signified unto me by those that be lernyd in the Latyne tongue) so I know you could have utteryd your desyres and opynions famyliarly in our vulgar tonge, aptyst for my intelligence. Albeyt you seme to have conceyved, rather percyally then truly, a favorable estimation both of my goyng forward and dedycation to lernyng. Whych t'advance, or at the lest conserve, you by your letters move me dyversly: schewynge how agreeable yt

is to me, beyng in thys worldly state, not onely for myne owne part to be studyous, but also a mayntener and cheryscher of the lernyd state, by beryng me in hand, that I am indued and perfeited with those qualytes and respects, which ought to be in a person of my vocation. Truely thys your discrete and polytyke document I as thankfully accept, as you desyre that I schuld inbrace yt. And for as muche as I do wel understand al kynde of lernyng doth floryssche amongst you in thys age, as yt dyd amongst the Grekes at Athens long ago, I requyre and desyre you al, not so to honger for the exquysite knowlege of prophane lernyng, that yt may be thowght, the Grekes university was but transposyd, or now in England ageyne revyved, forgettyng our chrystianity; synce theyr excellencye only did atteyne to moral and natural thyngs: but rather I gentlyly exhort you to study and apply those doctrynes, as means and apt degrees to the atteynyng and setting forth the better Chrystes reverend and most sacred doctryne. That yt may not be layd ageynste you in evydence at the tribunal seat of God, how ye ware asschamed of Christes doctryne. For thys Latyne lesson I am taught to say of Saynt Poule, *Non me pudet evangelii*. The syncere setting forth the wherof I trust universally in al your vocations and mynysteries, you woll apply and confourme your sondry gyftes, arts and studies, to such end and sort, that Cambrige may be accompted rather an universitie of divine philosophy, then of natural or moral, as Athens was.

Upon the confydence of whych your accomplyschment to my expectation, zeale and request, I accordyng to your desyres attempted my lord, the kings majesty, for the stay of your possessions. In whych notwythstanding hys majesties propertie and intrest through the consent of the high court of parlement, hys hyeghness, being such a patron to good lernyng, he woll rather advance and erect new occasion therfor, than confound those your colleges. So that

lernyng may hereafter ascribe her very oryiginal, hole conservation, and sure stay, to our sovereyne lord hys only defence, and worthy ornament. The prosperous estate and pryncely government of whom long to preserve, I doubt not but every of you woll with dayly invocacyon cal upon hym, who alone and only can dyspose al to every creature.

L.

Queen Katharine to the Lady Wriothesley, comforting her for the loss of her only son.

MSS.
penes me.

GOOD my Lady Wresely; understandyng yt hath pleasyd God of late to dysinheryte your sonne of thys world, of intent he schuld become partener and chosen heyre of the everlastyng inherytance; (which callyng and happy vocatyon ye may rejoyce) yet when I consyder, you are a mother by flessche and nature, doubtyng how you can geve place quyetly to the same; in as much as Chrystes mother, indued with al godly vertues, dyd utter a sorrowful natural passyon of her Sons dethe, whereby we have all obtayned everlastyngly to lyve: therfore amongst other dyscrete and godly consolatyons gyven unto you, as wel by my lord your husband, as other your wyse frendes, I have thowght with myne own hand to recommend unto you my symple counsel and advyce: desyryng you not so to utter your natural affectyon by inordynate sorow, that God have cause to take you as a murmurer ageynst hys appoyntments and ordynances. For what is excessyfe sorow but a pleyne evydens ageynst you, that your inward mynd doth repyne ageynst Gods doyngs, and a declaratyon, that you are not contented, that God hath put your son by nature, but hys by adoptyon, in possessyon of the heavenly kingdom? Such as have doubtyd of the everlastyng lif to come, doth sorow and bewayle the departure hens: but those

whych be persuadyd, that to dy here ys lyf ageyne, do rather honger for death, and count yt a felicitye, than to bewayle yt, as an utter destructyon.

How much, madam, are you to be counted godly wyse, that wol and can prevent thorow your godly wysdome, knowlege and humble submyssyon, that thyng that tyme wold at length fynysche. If you lament your sons death, you do him great wrong, and schew your self to sorow for the happyest thyng ther ever came to hym, being in the hands of his best Father. Yf you are sory for your own commodite, you schew your self to lyve to your self. And as of hys towardnes you could but only hope, hys years war so yong, whych could perfourm nothyng, yt semyth that he was now a mete and pleasant sacryfice for Chryst.

p 41.

Wherfor, good my Lady Wreseley, put away al immoderate and unjust hevynes, requyryng you with thanksgyving to frame your hart, that the Father in heaven may thynk you are moost glad and best contentyd to make hym a present of hys spyrytual and your only natural son: gloryfying hym more in that yt hath pleased hys majesty to accept and able hym to hys kyngdom, then that yt fyrst pleased hym to comfort you wyth such a gyft. Who can at hys pleasur recompence your loss with such a lyke juell, yf gladly and quyetly ye submyt and refer al to hys pleasur.

M.

A Proclamation concerning the irreverent talkers of the sacrament. Dated the 27th day of December, anno regni reg. Edward. primo.

WHERAS the kyngs highnes hath of late, with the assent and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the parliament held the day of _____ in the first year of his most

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gracious reign, made a good and godly act and estatute against those who do contempn, despise, or with unsemely and ungodly words deprave and revile the holy sacrament of the body and bloud of our Lord, commonly called, the *Sacrament of the Altar* : and the said estatute hath most prudently declared, by al the words and terms which scripture speaketh of it, what is undoubtedly to be accepted, beleved, taken and spoken by, and of the said sacrament: yet this notwithstanding, his majesty is advertised, that some of his subjects, not contented with such words and terms as scripture doth declare therof, nor with that doctrine, which the Holy Ghost by the evangelists and S. Paul hath taught us, do not cease to move contentious and superfluous questions of the said holy sacrament, and supper of the Lord; entryng rashly into the discussing of the high mystery therof, and go about in their sermons or talks, arrogantly to define the maner, nature, fashion, ways, possibility or impossibility, of those matters; which neither make to edification, nor God hath by his holy word opened.

p. 42. Which persons, not contented reverently and with obedient faith t'accept that the said sacrament according to the saying of S. Paul, "The bread is the communion," or partaking, "of the body of the Lord:" "the wine, likewise, the partaking of the bloud of Christ," by the words instituted and taught of Christ; and that the body and bloud of Jesu Christ is there; which is our comfort, thanksgiving, love-token of Christs love towards us, and of ours, as his members within our self; search and strive unreverently, whether the body and bloud aforesaid, is there really or figuratively, locally or circumscriptly, and having quantity and greatnes, or but substantially and by substance only, or els but in a figure and maner of speaking; whether his blessed body be there, head, leggs, armes, toes and nails, or any other ways, shape and maner, naked or clothed; whether he is broken or chewed, or he is

always whole; whether the bread there remaineth, as we se, or how it departeth; whether the flesh be there alone, and the bloud, or part, or ech in other, or in th'one both, in th'other but only bloud; and what bloud; that only which did flow out of the side, or that which remained: with other such irreverent, superfluous and curious questions, which, how and what, and by what means, and in what forme may bring into them, which of human and corrupt curiosity hath desire to search out such mysteries as lyeth hid in the infinite and bottomless depth of the wisdom and glory of God; and to the which our humain imbecility cannot attain: and therefore oftymes turneth the same to their own and others destruction, by contention and arrogant rashnes; which simple and christian affection reverently receiving, and obediently beleving, without further search, taketh and useth to most great comfort and profit.

For reformation wherof, and to the intent that further contention, tumult and question might not rise amonges the kings subjects, the kings highnes, by the advice of the lord protector, and other his majesties counsell, straitly willeth and commaundeth that no maner person from henceforth do in any wise contentiously and openly argue, dispute, reason, preach or teach; affirming any more termes of the said bl. sacrament, than be expressly taught in the holy scripture, and mentioned in the foresaid act, nor deny none, which be therein contained and mentioned; until such tyme as the kings majesty, by the advice of his highnes council, and the clergy of this realm, shal define, declare and set furthe an open doctrin therof; and what termes and words may justly be spoken therby, other than be expressly in the scripture contained in the act before rehearsed.

In the mean while the k. h. pleasure is, by the advice aforesaid, that every his loving subjects shal devoutly and reverently affirm and take that holy

bread to be Christs body, and that cup to be the cup of his holy bloud, according to the purport and effect of t'holy scripture, contained in th'act before expressed, and accommodate themself rather to take the same sacrament worthily, than rashly to entre into the discussyng of the high mystery therof.

p. 43. Yet the k. h. mindeth not hereby to let or stop the ignorant and willing to learn, reverently or privatly to demaund of those, whom he thynketh knoweth inore, the further instruction and teaching in the said bl. sacrament: so that the same be not doen with contention, nor in open audience, with a company gathered together about them, nor with tumult: nor doth prohibite any man hereby likewise so quietly, devoutly and reverently to teach or instruct the weak and unlearned, according to the more talent and learnyng, geven to hym of God. But only, that al contention, strife and tumult, and irreverentness might be avoyded, and in open audience and preachyng nothing taught, but which may have the holy scripture for warrant.

Upon pain that whosoever shal openly, with contention or tumult, and in a company gathered together, either in churches, alehouses, markets, or elsewhere, contrary to the fourm and effect of this proclamation, defend and maintein, or irreverently and contentiously demaund of any man, any of the questions before rehersed, either on the one part, or of the other, or any such like, or do otherwise revile, contempne or despise the said sacrament, by calling it an *idol*, or other such vile name; shal incurre the kyngs high indignation, and suffre imprisonment; or to be otherwise grievously punished at his majesties wil and pleasure.

Gevyng further in authority to al justices of peace within the shires, where they dwel, to apprehend and take al such as contentiously and tumultuously, with companies or routs assembled about them, do dispute, argue or reason, or stifly mantein, or

openly preach and define the questions before rehearsed, or any of them, or such like, either on the one part, or th'other; and to commit the same to prison, untill such tyme, as the k. m. pleasure herein be known; and that they immediately do certify the name or names of the party so offendyng, and of them who were there at the same tyme present, makynge the rout or assemble to the k. h. counsel: willyng and commaundyng the said justices, with al diligence, to execute the premisses, according to the purport, effect, and true meanyng of the same, and their most bound duties, as they tender his highnes wil and pleasure, and wil answer to the contrary upon their peril.

N.

A Proclamation for the absteinyng from flesh in the Lent tyme. Dated the 16th day of January, an. reg. prim. p. 44.

THE kings highnes, by the advice of his most entirely beloved uncle, Edward Duke of Somerset, governor of his person, and protector of al his realms, dominions and subjects, and other of his privy council; considering that his highnes hath not only cure and charge of the defence of his realms and dominions, as a king, but also, as a christian king, and supreme hed of the Church of England and Ireland, a desire, wil and charge to lead and instruct his people, to him committed of God, in such rites, ways and customs, as might be acceptable to God, and to the further increase of good living and vertue, and that his subjects now having a more perfect and clear light of the gospel, and true word of the Lord, thorow the infinite clemency and mercy of Almighty God by the hands of his majesty, and his most noble father of famous memory, promulgate, shewed, declared and opened unto them, should and ought therby, in al good

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works and vertues increase, be more forward and diligent and plentiful: as in fasting, prayer and al-mose deeds, in love, charity, obedience, and other such good works commaunded to us of God in his holy scripture:

Yet his highnes is advertised and informed, that diverse of his subjects be not only to al these more slow and negligent, but rather contempners and despisers of such good and godly acts and deeds; to the which if they were of their own minds bended and inclined, they needed not by outward and princely power, be appointed and commaunded. But forso-much as at this time now alate, more then at any other tyme, a great part of his subjects do break and contempne that abstinence which of long tyme hath been used in this his majesties realm, upon the Fridays and Saturdays, and the tyme commonly called Lent, and other accustomed tymes; his highnes is constrained to se a convenient order herein set and appointed: not mindyng therby that his subjects should thynk any difference to be in the days or meats, or that the one should be to God more holy, more pure, or more clean then the other; for al days and al meats be of one and equal purity, cleannes and holines, that we should in theim, and by them, live to the glory of God, and at al tymes, and for al meats, geve thanks unto hym, of the which none can defile us at any tyme, or make us unclene; being christian men, to whom al things be holy and pure, so that they be not used in disobedience and vice; but his majesty hath allowed and approved the days and tymes before accustomed, to be continued and stil observed here in this Church of England; both that men should on those days absteine and forbear their pleasures, and the meats, wherin they have more delight; to the intent to subdue their bodies unto the soul and spirit; unto the which to exhort and move men, is the office of a good and godly hedd and ruler.

p. 45.

And also for worldly and civil policy, certain days

in the yere to spare flesh, and use fish, for the benefit of the commonwealth, and profit of this his majesties realm: wherof many be fishers, and men using that trade of living, unto the which this realm on every part environed with the seas, and so plentiful of fresh waters, doth easily minister occasion; to the great sustinaunce of this his highnes people. So that hereby both the nourishment of the land might be encreased by saving flesh, and specially at the spring tyme, when Lent doth commonly fal, and when the most common and plenteous breedyng of flesh is. And also, divers of his loving subjects have good lyvyngs, and get great riches therby, in utteryng and selling such meats, as the sea and fresh water doth minister unto us; and this his majesties realm hath more plenty of ships, boats, crayes and other vessels, by reason of those, which by hope of lucre do follow that trade of livyng.

Wherefore his majesty, having consideration, that where men of their own myndes do not geve themselves, so oft as they should do, to fastyng, a common abstinence may and should be by the prince enjoined and commaunded, and having an ey and mynd to the profit and commodity of his realm and subjects, and to a common and civil policy, hath willed and commaunded, and by these presents doth wil and commaund, by th'advice aforesaid; al maner of person and persons, of what estate, degree or condition, he or they be, (other then such as already be, or hereafter shal be excused, by law, or licensed or authorizsd sufficiently to the contrary) to observe and keep from hencefurth such fastyng days, and the time commonly called Lent, in absteyning from al maner of Flesh, as heretofore in this realm hath been most commonly used and accustomed: upon pain that whosoever shal, upon any day heretofore wont to be fasted from flesh, and not by the k. h. or his predecessors abrogate and taken away, eat flesh contrary to this proclamation, shall incurr the kings high indignation, and shal suffre imprisonment, and

be otherwise grievously punished, at his majesties wil and pleasure.

And further the kings highnes, by the advice aforesaid, straitly chargeth and commaundeth al maiors, bailiffs and other hed-officers, and rulers of cities and townes, and al justices of peace in the sheres where they be in commission, to be attendant and diligent to the execution of this proclamation; in committing to prison the offenders contrary to the proclamation, upon sufficient proof therof by two sufficient witnesses, before them had and made: there to remain during the kings pleasure, according to the true purport, effect and meanyng of the same; as they tender the k. m. wil and pleasure, and wil answer the contrary at their peril.

p. 46. And where the late king of most famous memory, father to his highnes, hath given divers yeres licence to his subjects in the tyme of Lent, to eat butter, chese, and other meats, commonly called *white meats*, the k. h. by th'advice aforesaid, considering the same to have been doen not without great considerations, doth geve likewise licence and authority to al his loving sujects from hencefurth freely for ever in the tyme of Lent, or other prohibited tymes by law or custom, to eat butter, eggs, chese and other white meats, any law, statute, act or custome to the contrary notwithstanding.

O.

A Proclamation against such as innovate any ceremony, or preach without licence. Dated the 6th of Febr. an. reg. primo.

Ubi suprà. THE k. h. by the advice of his most entirely beloved uncle, the Duke of Somerset, governor of his most royal person, and protector of al his realms, dominions and subjects, and others of his council; consideryng nothing so much to tend to the disquiet-

ying of his realm, as diversity of opinions, and variety of rites and ceremonies, concerning religion and worshipping Almighty God ; and therefore studying al the ways and means which can be, to direct this church, and the cure committed to his highnes, in one and most true doctrine, rite and usage :

Yet it is advertised, that certain private curats, preachers and other laymen, contrary to their bounden duties of obedience, do rashly attempt of their own and singular wytt and mynd, in some parish churches, and otherwise, not only to persuade the people from the old and accustomed rites and ceremonies, but also themself bringeth in new and straunge orders, every one in their church according to their phantasies. The which, as it is an evident token of pride and arrogancy, so it tendeth both to confusion and disorder, and also to the high displeasure of Almighty God ; who loveth nothing so much as order and obedience.

Wherfore his m. straitly chargeth and commaundeth, that no maner person, of what estate, order or degree soever he be, of his private mynd, wil or fantasy, do omyt, leave down, chaunge, alter or innovate any order, rite or ceremony, commonly used and frequented in the Church of England, and not commaunded to be left down at any tyme in the reign of our late sovereign lord his highnes father, other then such as his h. by the advice aforesaid by his majesties visitors, injunctions, statuts or proclamations, hath already, or hereafter shal commaund to be omitted, left, innovated, or chaunged : but that they be observed after that sort as before they were accustomed, or els now sith prescribed by the aucthority of his m. and by the means aforesaid : upon pain, that whosoever shal offend contrary to this proclamation, shal incurr his h. indignation and suffre imprisonment, and other grevous punishments at his m. will and pleasure.

And to th'intent, that rash and seditious preachers should not abuse his h. people, it is his m. pleasure,

p. 47.

that whosoever shal take upon hyin to preach openly in any parish church, chappel, or any other open place, other than those which be licenced by the k. m. or his h. visitors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the bp. of the diocese, where he doth preach (except it be the bishop, person, vicar, dean or provost, in his, or their own cure) shal be furthwith, upon such attempt and preaching contrary to this proclamation, committed to prison, and there remain; until such tyme as his m. by th'advice afore-said, hath taken order for the further punishment of the same.

And that the premisses should be more spedily and diligently done and performed, his h. geveth straitly in commandment to al justices of peace, maiors, sheriffs, constables, hed-borows, church-wardens, and al other his m. officers and ministers, and rulers of towns, parishes and hamlets; that they be diligent and attendant, to the true and faithful execution of this proclamation, and every part therof, according to the intent, purport and effect of the same. And that they of their procedyngs herein, (or if any offender be, after they have committed the same to prison) do certify his h. the lord protector, or his m. council, with al spede, therof accordingly; as they tender his m. pleasure, the wealth of the realm, and wil answer the contrary at their uttermost perills.

P.

The kings commission for redress of inclosures.

EDWARD the sixth, &c. to our trusty and wel beloved, Sir Francis Russel, Kt. Foulk Grevyl, Kt. John Hales, John Marshe, William Pynnocke, and Roger Amys, gretying. Where, as wel in the fourth year of the reign of the most noble prince and our graundfather, K. Henry VII. and in the seventh, the twenty fifth and twenty seventh years

of the most excellent prynce of famous memory, and our most dearly beloved father K. Henry VIII. Many good, wholsome and profitable laws were by the universal consent of al the whole realm made for restitution, preservation and maintenance of the state and policy of the same: and namely for the maintenance and keeping up of houses of husbandry; for advoiding destructions, and pulling down of towns for inclosures, and converting of arable ground into pastures; for limiting what number of sheep men should have and keep in their possession at one time; against plurality and keeping together of farms; and for maintenance of hospitality, house-keeping and tillage, on the scytes and precincts and demeasnes of such monasteries, priories and religious houses, as were dissolved by act of parlament made in the said xxviith year of the reign of our said most dearly beloved father, as in the same statutes it doth and may more at large appear: which statutes have not wrought th'effect that was hoped should follow: partly for that the same, for fear of displeasure, and chiefly through the corruption and infection of private lucre grown universally among our subjects, were not put in execution: by reason wherof the force and puissance of this our realm, which was wont to be greatly feared of al foreign powers, is very much decayed, our people wonderfully abated, and those that remain grievously oppressed; the price of al things exceedingly encreased, and the common sort of our subjects brought to and kept in extreme misery and poverty: to the great hindrance of the glory of God, our dishonour, and the subversion, utter undoing, and decay of this our realm, if speedy remedy be not provided:

p. 48.

W E, coveting above al things the glory of God, by whose goodnes we be brought and maintained in this royal estate and dignity, and the wealth and safeguard of our realms and subjects committed to our charge: having conceived a good opinion, that you be men that love and fear God, and desire the

maintenance of our honor and savety, and tender the universal wealth of this our realm and subjects: by th'advice and consent of our most dearly beloved uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, governor of our royal person, and protector of al our realms, dominions and subjects, and the rest of our counsellours; have appointed and assigned you six, five, four, three or two of you, our commissioners: to enquire by the oaths of twelve good and leful men of our counties of Oxford, Bark, Warwick, Leycestre, Bedford, Buck, and Northampton, and every of them as wel within the liberties as without; and by al other ways and means that you can devise, wherby the truth may the better appear, of al and singular transgressors, breakers and offenders of the said statutes or any of them, or any part or parcel of them; and of al and singular articles and circumstances contained in the instructions hereunto annexed.

And therefore we straitly charge you and every of you, as ye wil answer to us, God, and the commonwealth of this our realm, that you diligently attend and apply the premisses, and execute the same earnestly and with effect.

WE also streitly charge and command our sheriffs and justices of our peace, of our said shires, excheators, and al and singular other our officers, ministers, and subjects; that from time to time, and at al times, they be attendaunt, aiding and assisting you in th'execution of the premisses. And that the said sheriffs from time to time do cause to come and appear before you six, five, four, three or two of you, at such times and places as you shal appoint, as many and such good and leful men of their bailifwick, by whom the truth may be the better known and come to light, in and concerning the premises, as you shal think requisite and necessary. And we wol and command also, al and singular keepers of our records in al and every our courts, and the clarks and ministers of the same courts and

every of them, that upon your our said commission-
 sioners, or two of your letters to them directed, they
 from time to time do make out in writing, and de-
 liver unto you with al expedition, the copies of al
 and singular such our records, as ye or two of you
 shal think meet and requisite for the better execution
 of this our commission.

p. 49.

And further, we give unto you six, five, four,
 three or two of you, ful power and authority to
 commit to ward al and singular persons, whom ye
 shal find rebellious, disobedient, stubborn, obstinate,
 hindring or letting by any means, the execution of
 this our commission there to remain without bail or
 mainprize, til our plesure be further known. And
 what ye shal do in the premisses, we wol that ye
 certify us in our court of chancery indelayedly
 together with this our commission: in witnes wherof
 we have caused these our letters to be made patents.
 witnes our self at Westminster the first day of June
 in the second year of our reign.

Q.

*The charge of Mr. John Hales, one of the com-
 missioners, at their assembly for the execution of
 the commission for redress of inclosures.*

LIKEWISE as when a man is very sore sick, and
 in daunger of his life, if he send for a physician,
 who studieth and taketh great pains for his health,
 and prepareth wholsome and healthful medicins;
 yet if he do not receive them, they can do him no
 good; even so good brethren, when any incon-
 veniencies, mischieves and hurts happen in the com-
 monwealth, if the kings majesty, his council, and
 the parlament with their great study, toyl and la-
 bour, prepare and make never so good laws to re-
 sist and put them away; yet if they be not received,
 obeyed, nor put in execution, they do not profit,
 Experience declareth the same to be most true.

MSS.
penes
Amic.

p. 50.

There have been many good laws made for the maintenaunce of houses and husbandry and tillage, as in the 4th year of the reign of K. Henry VII. and the 7th year of the reign of the kings majesties father, and in the 25th year of his reign: that no man should keep upon his own lands or farms, or upon his farms only, above the number of two thousand sheep. And in the same year, that no man should have and occupy any more than two houses of husbandry in one town, parish or hamlet. And in the 27th year of his graces reign, that those that should have the scites of any of the monasteries that were suppressed by act of parlament, being under the yearly value of three hundred marks, should keep honest and continual house and household upon the same, and occupy as much of the demesnes in tillage, as was occupied by any means with tillage within twenty years before the same act. Yet because the same laws were not reverently obeyed, and obediently observed, we se they do little or no good. Towns, villages and parishes do daily decay in great numbers: houses of husbandry and poor mens habitations be utterly destroyed every where, and in no smal number; husbandry and tillage, which is the very paunch of the commonwealth, that is, that that nourisheth the whole body of the realm, greatly abated, and finally the kings subjects wonderfully diminished; as those can wel declare that confer the new books of the musters with the old, or with the chronicles.

And al this groweth through the great dropsy and the insatiable desire of riches of some men, that be so much given to their own private profit, that they pas nothing on the commonwealth. They love themselves so much, that they forget their neighbours and christen brethren. They remember not that we be members of one body, and that, if every member should pul and snatch from the other as much as he could, al the whole body must needs perish. Surely, good people, if the medicins that be pre-

pared already, to resist, remove and heal this most hurtful disease of the commonwealth, privat profit, I cal it, that is to say, the laws be not justly and truly put in execution; it is to be feared, yea, it is most certain, that within short time we shal have no commonwealth, but rather for lack of people to defend us against our enemies, we shal be a prey for them. Is it not a pitiful hearing, good people, that man which was ordeined of God to be a comfort for man, and as it were a *God* (as the proverb is) that is to say, ordeined to do good, is now clean changed, and is become a wolf, a devourer and consumer of men; one that cannot be contended that his neighbours should live with him and by him?

Verily, good people, if men would consider by natural reason, what hurt followeth therby, not only to others, but what at length shal chance to themselves, it is to be thought that they would not so much give themselves to self love and their own profit. What shal it profit the rich man to have his chests ful of gold and silver, if he lack meat and drink? This the poor husbandman doth provide. What can his riches avail, if his enemies go about to assault or invade him? He must have other to help, or els he cannot resist: which in this realm hath always, til of late, been the commons of the realm. And by reason they be now greatly decayed and diminished, a great occasion wherof hath been the destruction of their houses and habitations, and the great dearth and prices of victual without any just cause, both the kings majesty that dead is, and the kings majesty that now is, was and is forced to send for, and hire strangers, Almaines, Italians and Spanyards. This thing also caused the king that dead is to make so many castles and bulwarks by the sea side, as he did. And his charges by these means and occasions waxing daily greater and greater, he was of necessity driven to ask and take so great subsidies and taxes of his subjects, as he did. Which I doubt not but ye do and wil consider. And whensoever the kings

majesty shal have need of your aid and help, either with your persons or with your goods, ye wil gladly like most faithful and loving subjects declare the same.

p. 51. But what availeth the rich man to have his felicity and heaven in this world, and to have infelicity and hel in the world to come?

The parable that is recited in the gospel of the rich man and the poor lazar, if we did wel consider of it, would make al men tremble, that be so given to the inordinate desire of riches. But it is to be feared that a great many think not that there is any other world. If they did, they would do otherwise than they do. Or else they think, as we were made to believe in time past, that if we live, never so leudly, do never so much evil, they shall with masses and other mens prayers after their death purchase heaven. Which persuasion and doctrin, as it was most ungodly, and contrary to Gods word, so it was most hurtful, and the destruction of every commonwealth. It is even the right way to let in al vices, and to put out al vertue. For vices be more agreable with our corrupt nature, than vertue. And surely, if men mark wel the course of the world, they shal easily perceive, that this great greedines is plagued here in this world, of God. We se a great many given to this filthy desire of gathering together goods, and yet God wil not suffer them to enjoy the fruits therof, and to use it to their commodity. Some be sick and wil scarce spend one peny to recover their healths. Some scarce once a week will refresh their bodies with a good morsel of meat, if they shal pay for it themselves. And others spare to thintent they would leave great possessions to their children, and make their family noble. But we se, how *man purposeth and God disposeth*, as the old saying is. Many times such men have children, that before their fathers be scarce laid in the grave, consume and wast away on harlots, unthrifty games and lewd company, that the father got before in long time, and with great penury. Evil gotten, worse

spent. It is no strange thing. Such evil heirs be no black swans or white crows, but almost as common as white swans, or black crows. The just plague of those that pas not how their children be brought up, so they may leave them goods and lands enough.

For Gods sake, good people, let us take heed ; let us not provoke the ire and plague of God on us ; but having received the knowledg of his word, let us live accordingly. Let our good living and works appear to the world. Let our love and charity be abundant to our poor neighbours. That other men may speak wel of us, and say no longer, that we be talkers of Gods word and no followers. If we do not, no doubt but he wil take that his most holy word from us, and give it to a people that shal bring forth the true fruit of it. And then wil he plague us with sword, famine and pestilence, as he hath promised those that do not esteem, but contemne his word. Let us begin, good people, to strive who may do most good : and let us no longer study, how to do our neighbours and our country harm. Let us have this godly opinion with us, that nothing can be profitable that is not godly and honest, nor nothing godly and honest, wherby our neighbours and christen brethren, or the commonwealth of our country is hurted or harmed. Let us endeavour and give our selves to the obedience and observation of good laws, and no longer to the imagination and practice, how to subvert and break good laws. Let it appear that we desire and follow that that is good, for the love that we bear to good, and not for fear of the laws or punishment.

p. 52.

Howbeit as we hear, there be a great many that now fal in disputation, whether these statuts be necessary or profitable for the commonwealth ; and so to make controversy. But it becometh no honest subject so to do, when laws be made, we may not disobey them. If we should, and permit to every mans judgment, what is good, what is evil, we should

never be in certainty. But because there be some that neither have the fear of God before their eyes, nor yet of the laws, they be so drowned in covetousnes, and this insatiable desire of the vile muck of this transitory world; not passing how they come by it, so they may have it; the kings majesty being the life, heart and head of this realm, and of us his subjects, the lord protectors grace and the lords of the council, considering that his majesty is the minister of God here in earth, and hath the sword, that is authority given him of God to punish those that wil not do willingly that that is good and godly, minding the preservation and wealth of this his realm, and that his poor subjects should not be oppressed by the rich, and intending to set such an order and stay in the commonwealth, as the poor with the rich, and one of us with another, may live together every man in his degree and vocation; hath sent us here among you, and layd upon us a very great burthen, to se his commission diligently and earnestly executed, even as we wil answer to God, his highnes, and the commonwealth of his realm.

And by thauclority therof we have sent for to appear before us, and have sworn you, not by *All Saints*, but as ye trust to be saved by the merits of Christs passion; to make diligent enquiry and true presentment of such things as we shal charge you with. Wherunto we require you al, specially you that be sworn, to give diligent and attentive ear, that ye may the better do your office and duty.

*Then was read the commission and proclamation.
And then Mr. Hales proceded as follows.*

Good people, by this commission and proclamation, ye may perceive the zeale and love that the kings majestie, the l. protectors grace, and the rest of his most honorable council have to the commonwealth of this his realm, and us his subjects. By the same also ye may perceive generally the cause of our

coming, and your assemble here. And albeit it extendeth to five principal points, that is, for the decay of towns, villages, houses of husbandry, converting arable ground into pasture, the multitude of sheep, the heaping together of farmes, the not keeping hospitality and household on the scites of the monasteries and religious houses, that were dissolved by statute made in the xxviiith year of the reign of the kings majesty that dead is, and occupying of tillage on the demesns of the same monasteries: yet doth al together shoot but at one mark, and prick but at one prick; that is, to remove the self love that is in many men, to take away the inordinate desire of riches, wherewith many be cumbred, to expel and quench the insatiable thirst of ungodly greedines, wherewith they be diseased, and to plant brotherly love among us, to encrease love and godly charity among us, to make us know and remember that we al, poor and rich, noble and ignoble, gentlemen and husbandmen, and al other of whatsoever state they be, be but members of one body mystical of our Saviour Christ, and of the body of the realm. p. 53.

For as by natural experience we find it to be true, that if any one part of a mans body be grieved, or the bloud by any maner of means be let, that it cannot come to it, it is a great pain to al the whole body; nor it is lusty and able to do his office: so ought we to consider and remember in the state of the body of the realm; if the poorest sort of the people which be members of the same body as well as the rich, be not provided and cherished in their degree, it cannot be but a great trouble of the body and a decay of the strength of the realm. Surely, good people, methinketh that if men would know how much this ungodly desire of worldly things, and the unlesful getting and heaping together of riches, were hated of God, how hurtful and dangerous for the commonwealth of the realm it is, and what a vertue the mean in al things is; these laws, nor a great many more that be, needed not. Gods word

is full of threats and curses against these kind of greedines. “ Woe! be unto you, saith he, that cannot be contented that other men should live with you and by you; but put men from their livings, join house to house, and couple field to field; what do you mean? Think ye to live alone in the midst of the earth? no, no, the people be mine. I have a care and respect to them, I wil not suffer them to be devoured at your hands. It is not your policy; it is not your craft; it is not your riches, that is able to defend you against me. I have the cure of the poor people; I am their defender; I am their ayder; and I wil not suffer them to perish. If ye be not good to the poor, I wil not be good to you. If ye labour never so much, and have not my help, your labour is but in vain. When ye look for plenty, I wil send scarcity. For it is not your labour, but it is my blessing, which falleth on them that do my commandments and wil, that maketh plenty of al things.”

One of the causes, why God plagued and burned the great city of Sodom was, the greedines of the rich men, and the little mercy, pity, and compassion they had to their poor neighbours: they thought al too little for themselves. Therefore, good people, let us consider and remember it. Let us not willingly go about to provoke the ire and plague of God on us. Let us remember, that our time in this world is but short. Let us use this short time to Gods honor and glory. It hath pleased him to send among us the light of his gospel, which doth teach us how we should love, honor, and trust in him; how we should and ought to love our neighbours as our selves. Let us not go about to gather things together with the hurt of any other. For it is prohibited both by Gods laws, the law of nature, and mans law. Let it not appear that we have received the grace of God, and the knowledg of his word in vain; but let our doings be so charitable, that al the world may se and perceive that as Gods word doth teach us to be al one, so we be al one. Wherby we

may provoke those that now hate Gods word, to love and embrace the same, and to glorify God with us.

Thus have ye heard, good people, how much God abhorreth this greediness, and how he hath in time past and hereafter intendeth to punish the same. Now wil I tel you partly how hurtful it is to the commonwealth. Likewise as it hath pleased God to make the body of divers parts and members; and every part and member hath his distinct and proper office, as to the ey to se, the nose to smel, the ear to hear, the tongue to speak, the hand to feel, and the feet to go; so hath it pleased God also to ordeine in the commonwealth divers degrees of people; some to be governours, rulers and defenders of it, as the kings majesty, his council, and nobility and gentlemen, and others to be his victuallers and purveyors of things necessary for the use and sustinence of man, as craftsmen and husbandmen. And as if my hand, or any other member of the body could by his craft or policy, as they cal it, find the means to get the bloud of al the rest of the members to it, it should be an occasion that al the whole body should shortly perish; so likewise, when men in a commonwealth go about to gather as much as they can, and to get it they care not how; not considering whether by their gain any hurt should come to their neighbours, or to the commonwealth; not only others, but they themselves should shortly perish. What availeth a man to have his house ful of gold, and be not able to keep it with his force against his enemies? So what shal al our goods avail us, if we be not able to defend us from our enemies?

The force and puissance of the realm, consisteth not only in riches, but chiefly in the multitude of people. But it appeareth, good people, that the people of this realm, our native country, is greatly decayed through the greedines of a few men in comparison, and by this ungodly means of gathering together goods, by pulling down of towns and houses,

which we ought al to lament ; where there were in few years ten or twelve thousand people, there be now scarce four thousand. Where there were a thousand, now scarce three hundred ; and in many places, where there were very many able to defend our country from landing of our enemies, now almost none. Sheep and cattle that were ordeined to be eaten of men, hath eaten up the men ; not of their own nature, but by the help of men. Is it not a pitiful case, that there should be so little charity among men ? Is it not a sorrowful hearing, that one Englishman should be set to destroy his countryman ? The places where poor men dwelt, clearly destroyed : lands emproved to so great rents, or so excessive fines taken, that the poor husbandmen cannot live. Al things at this present, saving corn (which by reason that is in poor mens hands who cannot keep it, is good cheap) be so dear as never they were : victual and al other things that be necessary for mans use. And yet, as it is said, there was never more cattle, specially sheep, than there is at this present. But the cause of the dearth is, that those have it, that may chose, whether they wil sel it or no ; and wil not sel it, but at their own prizes. Al corn would be likewise, if it were in their hands, and might be wel kept.

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Therfore the kings majesty by th'advice of my lord protectors grace, and the rest of the council, thinking, that if these laws might be put in execution, many things amiss in the commonwealth should be reformed, hath sent his commissioners into these parties : wherupon we have caused you to appear before us, and have sworn you, requiring to give good ear to your charge.

Instructions given by the kings majesty to his commissioners, appointed for the execution of certain statuts made in the fourth year of the reign of K. Henry VII. and the seventh, the twenty-fifth and the twenty-seventh years of the reign of K.

Henry VIII. to be enquired of in the shires and places in the commission hereunto annexed, expressed.

First, ye shal enquire what towns, villages and hamlets have been decayed and laid down by inclosures into pastures, within the shire contained in your instructions, sith the fourth year of the reign of K. Henry VII.

Item, What lands were then in tillage at the time of the said inclosure, and what then in pasture.

Item, How many plows, by reason of the said inclosure, be laid down.

Item, How many meases, cottages and dwelling houses be fallen in decay, and the inhabitants of the same departed from their habitation there, by reason of the same inclosure : and how much land belonged unto the said tenants.

Item, By whom the said inclosures were made, and how long ago. And if they were made within the same time : and of what yearly rent and profit they be.

Item, Who hath now the state of inheritance, and the profits of the same inclosure ; and of whom the lands be holden.

Item, How many new parks be now made, sith the said time.

Item, What arable land at the time of the making the said parks, were imparked within the same.

Item, How many ploughs, houses and inhabitations be decayed by imparking of the said ground.

Item, How many parks within the said shire be enlarged, sith the said time ; and how much of the same ground was then arable and put in tillage.

Item, How many ploughs, houses and inhabitations be decayed by reason of the said imparking.

Item, If any person hath or doth keep above the number of two thousand sheep, besides lambs of one years age ; and whether he hath kept the same upon his own lands, or upon his farm lands, or upon

both or otherwise by covyn or fraud : and how long he hath kept them.

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Item, How many sheep ye think have been necessary for the only expences of such persons household for one year.

Item, If any person hath letten any lands to farm, or by copy of court-rol, reserving the sheep pasture of the same to himself : or if any person hath taken from his tenants their commons, wherby they be not able to breed and keep their cattel and maintain their husbandry, as they were in time past.

Item, If any person hath had or occupied above the number of two houses or tenements of husbandry lying in one town, village, hamlet or tithing; and how long he hath occupied the same.

Item, Whether such person hath taken the same in farm, for the term of life, years at wil, by indenture or copy of court-rol, or otherwise, sith the feast of the Nativity of our Lord God *millmo. quingentesimo tricesimo quinto*; and where such person dwelleth.

Item, If every person, body politic or corporate, that hath, by gift, grant, lease or demise, the scite or precinct and demeasnes of any monastery, priory or religious house, dissolved by vertue of the act of parlament made in the 27th year of the reign of the king that dead is, do keep an honest continual house and houshold in the same scite or precinct, and do occupy yearly as much of the same demeasnes in ploughing and tillage of husbandry, as was commonly used to be kept by the governours, abbots or priors of the same houses, monasteries or priories, or by their farmour or farmours occupying the same, within the time of twenty years next before the making of the same statute.

Item. That you, our said commissioners, for your better instructions, take with you the copies of al such offices as were found, concerning the premisses in the ninth and tenth years of the reign of our most noble father K. Henry VIII.

These be our instructions, and the articles of your charge generally: howbeit we think it very good to open it more specially. For as there be many good men, that take great pains to study to devise good laws for the commonwealth; so be there a great many, that do with as great pains and study, labour to defeat them; and as the common saying is, to find gapps and starting holes. But first, to declare unto you what is meant by this word, *inclosures*. It is not taken where a man doth enclose and hedge in his own proper ground, where no man hath commons. For such inclosure is very beneficial to the commonwealth; it is a cause of great encrease of wood: but it is meant therby, when any man hath taken away and enclosed any other mens commons, or hath pulled down houses of husbandry, and converted the lands from tillage to pasture. This is the meaning of this word: and so we pray you to remember it.

To defeat these statuts, as we be informed, some have not pulled down their houses, but maintain them; howbeit no person dwelleth therin; or if there be, it is but a shepherd or a milkmaid; and convert the lands from tillage to pasture: and some about one hundred acres of ground, or more or less, make a furrow and sow that; and the rest they till not, but pasture with their sheep. And some take the lands from their houses, and occupy them in husbandry; but let the houses out to beggars and old poor people. Some to colour the multitude of their sheep, father them on their children, kinsfolks, and servants. All which be but only crafts and subtilties to defraud the laws: such as no good man will use, but rather abhor. For every good man wil direct his study to observe the laws rather than break them, and say with himself thus: I know the makers of these laws meant good to the commonwealth. Men be but men; they cannot se al things: they be no gods; they cannot make things perfect. Therefore I wil rather do that they meant, altho' without danger of the law I might do otherwise, and I will

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withal my heart do good to my country, albeit it be against my private profit, rather than hurt it. And therefore if there be any such that use these tricks, albeit they be not comprehended in the letter of the law, I pray you let us know him, and present you his name.

Thus have we declared unto you the causes of our coming and your assemble here. Which is only to enquire of such things as we have been charged with. If ye wil do your office therein as becometh good men, that is to say, without partiality or favour, accuse and present those that be to be accused and presented for offending of these statuts: and in these enormities, we doubt not but ye shal do God as great and as acceptable sacrifice as may be. For hereby shal his glory, and the fruit of his word, which is charity and love to our neighbours, be published and set forth to the world: ye shal do the king the greatest service that can be devised. For hereby his people and subjects (in the multitude of whom his honour and safety consisteth) shal be encreased. And ye shal shew your selves good members of the body and the commonwealth of the realm, that covet and desire as much the wealth and commodity of your christen brethren and neighbours, as ye do your own.

Besides, it is not unlike, but that these great fines for lands and emprovement of rents shal abate, and al things wax better cheap: xx and xxx eggs for a peny, and the rest after the rate as hath been in times past; and the poor craftsmen may live, and set their wares at reasonable prices; and noblemen and gentlemen that have not emprowed nor enhaunced their rents, nor were sheep-masters, nor grasiers, but lived like noblemen and gentlemen, shal be the better able to keep good hospitality among you, and keep servants about them, as they have done in time past. And that, sith ye shal thus serve God, the king, and the commonwealth, ye wil put away al fear of any person, land lord, master, or

other. For God, the king, and the commonwealth, if ye serve them truly and faithfully, as they be able to defend you against the devil, the world, and private profit; so may you be sure they will suffer no person to do you injury. And considering the manifold benefits that may come by truly executing therof, we also require and advertise you, that for no favour ye go about to excuse, or leave unrepresented, those that ye may know to have offended: you shal do your selves much hurt by running into wilful perjury; and indeed nothing profit them whom ye intend to gratify. For we our selves, if need shal require, wil take the pains to view every thing particularly.

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And therefore for Gods sake, good people, do as becometh honest men, declare the truth, and nothing but the truth. And on th'other side we require you on Gods behalf, command you in the kings name, and exhort you as your friends, that ye wil not abuse this the great goodnes of God, the kings majesty, and his high council herein offered: that is to say, that ye make not this godly thing an instrument of malice to be revenged on any man to whom ye bear displeasure. For things grounded on malice, God wil never suffer to prosper. Besides, we charge you and command you al that be present on the kings behalf, and that ye likewise charge al your neighbours that be absent, that ye, nor none of them, go about to take upon you to be executors of the statuts; to cut up mens hedges, and to put down their enclosures, or by any ways to hurt them. For this is not your office to do. Ye shal highly offend God, break the kings laws, and be an occasion that that good that might, and is like to follow, shal not take place, nor come to that good end that is desired. But let it appear to the world that ye desire a charitable and quiet reformation by the order only of the law: whereunto we ought and be bound to be obedient. Be ye not breakers of the law, while ye go about to have vices reformed by the law. Accuse and present you justly those that be offenders of these statuts.

For this is only our duty to wil you and yours to do : and let the law work his effect, power and office afterward.

And by this means we trust in God, that as it hath pleased him to put into the kings and his councils heads to begin this matter, so wil he give them grace to finish and accomplish the same ; and to do greater things to his glory, the kings honor and safty, and the universal benefit of us al. And unles we wil shew our selves unkind, we cannot but honor God, and give him thanks, that it hath pleased him to send us such a king, such a protector, and such a council ; that only be bent and enclined to do the people good. Doubtles, good people, where the people love and honour God, favour and embrace his word, and live accordingly, to them doth God send good and gracious rulers. And on th'other side, where they favour not, nor love his word, to them he sendeth unpitiful and hard rulers, such as only shal seek their own plesures, benefits, and commodities, not passing on their poor subjects. And therefore, good people, let us love, favour, and embrace Gods word, which thing only is the cause that this godly act is set forward. It is the general comfort of al christian men, and specially of the poor. It forbiddeth the rich to oppress the poor, and willeth and commandeth him to be merciful to him. It declareth us to be members of one body, and biddeth us to love together like brother and brother. It teacheth the magistrates their offices towards their inferiors, and commandeth al people to be obedient to their superiors. It sheweth how God rewardeth weldoers, both here, and with everlasting felicity, and punisheth malefactors both in this world and with eternal damnation. And therefore, good people, let us not only love and embrace Gods word, but also al such as be the furtherers, preachers, and teachers hereof. Thus I make an end, and God save the king.

R.

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A Discourse made by William Thomas, Esq. for the kings use; Whether it be expedient to vary with time?

WHAT time is, Solomon in the third of Ecclesiastes doth sufficiently describe, including al things under the sun within time. And as Petrarch saith in the *Triumph of Time*,
Cot. Libr.
Vespasian,
D. 18.

Passan vovre grandezze, e vovre pompe,
 Passan le signorie, passano i regni:
 Ogni cosa mortal tempo interrompe.

Wherefore seing time is both the father and devourer of al things, and consequently that nothing is to man more precious than time; it followeth, that he who in time can take his time is most happy in this world. But because we se the world to depend in maner altogether upon contraries, as rest and moving, lack and having, light and darknes, white and black, silence and noise, sweet and sowre, hot and cold, light and heavy, soft and hard, moist and dry, with infinite others in such wise, as every thing hath his contrary; therfore it seemeth a great difficulty unto man, (as indeed it is) how among so many discords he may gather any profit of his time.

For when al is reckoned, no man findeth thing in this world more joyful, nor more acceptable unto him, than *prosperity*: which he esteemeth so much that he refuseth no labour, nor in maner any peril, to attain it. And yet hath this prosperity proved such a lyer, flatterer, and deceiver of men, that when they have most rejoyced and trusted in it, even the prosperity it self hath been cause of their extreme sorrow and adversity: as by infinite examples it is manifest. How suddenly was the glory of Balthazar, in the fifth of Daniel, plagued of God.

For indeed this prosperity (or humane felicity, as ye list to cal it) is not esteemed prosperity til it be

at the highest ; and then it smeth of ordinary, that when we reckon to be most happy, suddenly some contrary happeneth. So that the esteemed prosperity encreaseth the adversity, and is rather a beginning of mishap than any felicity indeed. Which th'astronomers ascribe unto the planets, because al things in earth, as they say, are governed by the motions of the stars. And as when they be in a sextile or trine aspect they are accounted prosperous, so in the quadrate or opposite they are unfortunate. And their courses being such as in a moment they leap from one to the other, it is no mervail (say they) tho mens fortune do semblably vary.

p. 60.

Philip, king of Macedon, when he had in one day gotten the victory in the Olympiades playes, and in the battail both, prayed God to recompence that great hap with some small evil. Wherupon he was by chance shot into the eye with an arrow : and so lost his eye ; accounting himself happy in the midst of his prosperity to encounter with a smal misfortune. For as the stone that is thrown into the air falleth the more vehemently the higher it is thrown ; so most commonly it fareth by mans prosperity, the higher he seemeth to climb, the greater is his overthrow. And if in prosperity (to the which al men covet to aspire) we find this difficulty or peril, wherunto then shal man apply his time ?

Truly as the musician useth sometime a flat, and sometime a sharp note, sometime a short, and sometime a long, to make his song perfect : so, saith Macchiavegli, ought man to frame his proceedings unto his time. And albeit that man cannot so directly concord them, as to make them always agree, like the musicians divers notes, because some men are led of vehemence, and some of respect and fear ; in the one or other wherof al men most commonly do err : yet he is to be esteemed the wisest and happiest man, that in proceeding maketh least discords with time. And as the physician to the remedy of sickness ministreth unto his patients both

medicins and diets, other than they should receive, when they were whole; so man in his affairs should procede according to his time, altering as the occasion requireth; and not to persevere obstinately in one opinion, how good or how profitable soever it had proved in other time before.

Fabius Maximus (of whom I have spoken heretofore) was for his time a wonderful captain, and the whole preservation of the whole commonwealth, because his fortune was to spring in a time conformable to his nature. For Annibal being newly arrived in Italy with a couragious army, and having obtained the victory of sundry sore battails, was not any more to be foughten withal, as wel for the respect of his own encreased strength, as for the weakness of his often-abated enemies. So that against him in that time there was none so meet a captain as Fabius; who with prolonging of time decreased Annibals treasure and power. But afterwards, when the Romans were at a better stay, and hable as wel to offend as to defend, then was Scipio sent into Afric with an army, to bring those wars to an end: which his time and fortune served him to do. And yet was Fabius at that time of opinion, that Scipio should not go, cleaving always to his own maner of proceeding. So that if Fabius had then been prince or governor, in such sort as his opinion must have had place, Annibal might for him have been yet in Italy. Wherin they do commonly err, that have before prospered in their opinion. The hap wherof maketh them so to hope the like, that in maner it shal be impossible to dissuade them. Which indeed is one of the greatest causes of the common mishapp that followeth prosperity. For when men wil observe one direct, or (as I may cal it) obstinate proceeding, if the time come that shal require the contrary, it followeth their proceeding must perish.

I mean not, that any man should vary in amity, turn from vertue to vice, or to alter in any such thing as requireth constancy; but touching the other pub-

lick or private doings, I think nothing more necessary, than to *vary with the time*.

p. 61. Alexander the Lacedemonian, being a notable valiant prince, used nevertheless in al his doings more policy than force : wherof his familiars would sometimes reprove him, saying, that he degenerated from Hercules, of whom he was descended. But he, smiling, would answer, “ That where he could not play the lion, it was no shame to play the fox.” Which of some men is condemned as a vile and vitious thing. For Quintus Curtius, upon the answer of Alexander the Great unto Parmenio, maketh a great discourse ; declaring how Parmenio counsilled Alexander to oppress his enemy by policy. Wherunto Alexander answered, that if he were Parmenio he would so do, but being Alexander it behoved him liberally to fight, and justly to overcome.

Indeed, whensoever a prince may openly, without peril, attain either the victory over his enemy, or his purpose with them that be indifferent, his proceeding ought to have no craft. But when either his power serveth not, or that his contrary practiseth subtilly (as most commonly princes do at these days) then, meeseemeth, policy is no vice. For al men are not Alexanders. No, nor Alexander was not himself at length. Even as he was to be commended in the vertuous overcoming of his enemy, (if vertue it may be called) when his power served him therunto : so was he to be dispraised in the unnatural misusing of his friends, when with them and by their help he had passed so many perils. Wherfore at length his own prosperity bred his own destruction.

Philip De Comines writeth, that at the treaty of the peace beside Conflans, Lovys the XIth French king, and the Conte Charolois, son to the Duke of Burgoigne, met simply in the fields ; and walking together alone, in treating of the matter, the king led the earl into a bulwark of his before Paris, or ever the earl took heed : and nevertheless agreed with him, and sent him back again unto his army, that

then was wonderfully disturbed for his absence and danger. The courtesy wherof, as I believe, encouraged the same French king afterwards to put himself in the Duke of Burgoigne's power at Peronne; where he found great cause to repent him of his folly. For whilest he lay in the castle, the duke was in a thousand thoughts, whether he should retain him still, or do worse. And if the king had denied any of his requests, it had indeed proved evil with him.

Thus it appeareth, that no man ought with his own nature to mesure the nature of another man; and especially of princes, who are not reckoned wise, when they lose either time or advantage. And therfore Philip De Comines alloweth them not to meet togethers, unles it be in youth, when their heads are given to pleasures. But in cases of treaty for peace, in time of war, or for interest in time of peace, when the power of the one may be suspect to the other, let never princes meet. No, the jealousy of estate is so great, that when a prince may advoide any peril, either by foresight or by policy, let him never tempt God, for miracles are rare.

Isabell, Queen of Naples, being expulsed the realm by the first Alphonse, then intituled king thereof, made recourse unto Eugeny, then Bishop of Rome, for aid to recover her estate. Who in her favour sent a patriarch, called Vitelesco, with men of war, against Alphonse. And albeit the patriarch for a while prospered; yet at length, near unto Salerno, the king gate him in such a straight, as neither he nor his could escape. Then fell he to treaty, and promised the king al his request. Wherupon truce was taken, and he let go. But immediately after, knowing the king upon trust of the truce to be void of suspicion, he turned so suddenly upon him, that on Christmas-day, the king being at mas, word came that the patriarch was at hand, which notwithstanding, the king of superstition would needs hear out his mas; and so obstinately perse-

p. 62.

vered, that the patriarch came indeed, fought with the kings guard at the church-door, slew divers of them, took al the kings plate and cariages, and so hotly pursued the king himself, that with much ado he escaped to Capua.

Wherin like as the patriarch shewed himself a truc member of the wicked church, so did the king err in two ways. First, in suffering the enemy to escape, when he had him at the advantage: and after, in tempting God with a trust that needed not. As Cicero saith, “*Ne offeramus nos periculis sine causa.*”

Wherfore among princes, of al things the time and advantage is to be observed in such sort, as having the enemy at an after-deal, either constrain him by force to yield unto thy profit, or deal with him so liberally, that he may both know what case he is in, and how much kindnes thou deservest of him. Which latter almost is not to be used; because princes have less confines to their wills, and less amity to their neighbours, than in time past hath been accustomed.

Titus Vetrurius Calvinus, and Spurius Posthumus, being consuls of Rome, happened with both their armies to arrive in a vally called Caudina, where their enemies, the Samnites, stopped the straights in such sort, as Livy writeth, that the Romans, lamenting their misfortune, said, “*Ne ferrum quidem ad bene moriendum oblaturus est hostis: sedens bellum conficiebat.*” In which case the Samnites, astonied with their unhoped fortune, wist not what counsil to use. Wherfore Caius Herennius, their captain, sent home to his father, Herennius Pontius, an aged wise man, to hear his opinion: who understanding the case, answered, they should freely let the Romans go; without offending them in any thing. Which advice the Samnites liked not, and therefore sent to him again: then he had cut them al to pieces, and let not one escape. These two answers so contrary, made them believe he doted, by reason of his age. Wherfore they sent for him, and being come, asked

what he meant? Mary, quoth he, if ye do the first, your libarality shal establish a perfect peace and amity with a people more puissant than your self. And if ye do the second, destroying these two armies, ye abase their power, so that in many years they shal not again be hable to annoy you. Other council, quoth he, I know none. And being then demaunded, what he thought of a mean between these two extremities, in letting them go upon such covenants as are wont to be taken of men overcome; he answered, so shall ye neither purchase friends, nor rid you of enemies. For ye preserve them that ye have offended; yea, and further provoke them with shame. And it proved true indeed. For it had been better for the Samnites at that time to have been discomfited of the Romans in battail, than to have let them go as they did, with so shameful a peace, as by the proces of the history it appeareth.

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In effect it fareth with princes in this case, as in expences it fareth with the prodigal man: who of his treasure gathereth but thanks, and perchance scorn; and when he hath al spent, his most gain is miserable pity. Wherefore the wise prince loseth neither his time nor advantage; as K. Edward III. when he had lien a year before Calais, and was challenged by the French king to fight, answered, "No; I have lien here these twelve months, to my great charges. And if I should now put that in adventure that I am sure of, I should commit a great folly." Which answer proceded not of cowardise. For before that time he refused not the fight at Vironfosse, nor the battails of Cane, Blanchetake, nor Cressy: but he would loose neither the time he had spent there, nor the advantage of winning the town, which within few days after was yielded unto him. And albeit that he varied from his nature to refuse any fight, yet because the time required so, it was rather honorable than otherwise.

Loose therefore neither advantage nor time, the winning wherof is accounted the greatest matter

among princes ; like as the loss is by example proved to be of no less moment. And let him not think to prosper in this world, that wil not *vary* in his proceedings according to the time. For as there is nothing more pleasant than the concord of musick, nor nothing more displeasing than the discord therof ; so when doings and time agree, there is nothing more happy, nor when they disagree, nothing more unhappy ; having in them much more variation than tunes in music have.

S.

A second Discourse made by the same person, for the kings use ; whether it be better for a commonwealth, that the power be in the nobility, or in the commonalty.

Cott. Libr.
Vespasian,
D. 18.

THE people of every monarchy, or realm, is divided in two parts. Th'one *nobility*, and the other *commonalty*. In whom be two repugnant desires. The one to rule, and the other not to be ruled. And because the desire of them prevaieth in whom the power consisteth ; therefore our question is, to whom the power is most convenient for the commonwealth.

p. 64.

Upon which question dependeth this other ; whether is more prejudicial to the commonwealth, the nobleman that seeketh to maintain his estate, or the unnoble that seeketh to attain nobility. Or whose desire is the greater, his that hath already, and feareth to loose, or his that hath not, and coveteth to gain.

In effect it hath been proved, that the desire of both is equal. For he that hath, thinketh he cannot safely enjoy his own, if he get no more ; and he hath not, must of necessity seek to have. And tho this desire be equal in its self, yet are the effects therof unequal. For he that hath, may gain with ease ; wheras he that hath not, cannot wel gain without travail. In which travail consisteth the ground of al civil policy.

For if the needy might attain their things without travailling for them, or the wealthy find none ease in the riches that they have travailed for, then should the world become barbarous for lack of travail.

Wherefore like as it is necessary to constrain the needful to travail, even so it is requisite to maintain him that by travail hath deserved rest, in power to rest. For of diligence and travail nobility is grown. And as long as either the nobleman or the unnoble seeketh to maintain, or attain by due means, so long is neither of them noisome to the commonwealth. But whensoever either of them seeketh his purpose by power, and so grow into parties; then is the party of the *commons* the more dangerous, for three especial causes, that is to wit, their inconstancy, peril, and ignorance.

First, That the multitude is most inconstant, it is evident. For among many men, are many opinions; which breedeth confusion. And tho by persuasion or necessity they may agree, yet is it impossible their agreement should long continue. As for example.

In the beginning of the third book of the third decad of Titus Livius, I read, that after the battail of Trasimene, when Annibal came before Capua, the commons of that city had their senators and magistrats in such contempt, that the best of the town feared to be slain, and so the city to be yielded unto Annibal. Of which matter Livy beginneth on this wise. “*Inde Capuam flectit iter, luxuriantem longa felicitate atque indulgentia fortunæ; maxime tamen inter corrupta omnia licentia plebis, sine modo libertatem exercentis.*” Insomuch that Pacuvius Calavius, one of the nobility there, to save both the senate and the city, and to win the people, devised this subtilty. First he persuaded the *senators* to be ordered by him, and so locked them up togethers in the senate house. Then he called the *commons* unto him, making an oration to this effect, that he knew the just hate they bear against their rulers, which

moved him to procure a mean, how they might without their own peril be avenged on them. Wherefore by his own policy he had made them sure in the senate, and would bring them forth to be punished at the peoples judgment according to their demerits. Whereof the people wonderfully rejoiced. But then he persuaded them it was necessary to do two things at once. One to dispatch the old senate, and the other to choose a new senator or ever they executed the old. Whereupon he caused the senators names to put into a pot, and so taken out by one and one at adventure.

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The first senator, whose name happened to be drawn, was brought forth, and with an open cry of the people condemned. Now, quoth Pacuvius, ye have judged him, choose one in his place. Of which election Livy writeth thus, “Primo, silentium erat inopia potioris subjiciundi. Deinde, cum aliquis, omissa verecundia, quempiam nominasset, multo major exemplo clamor oriebatur, cum alii negarent nosse, alii nunc probra, nunc humilitatem, sordidamque inopiam, & pudendæ artis aut quæstus genus objicerent. Hoc multo magis in secundo ac tertio senatore factum est.” So that at length, for want of better, they were contented to keep their old, and to stand to Pacuvius his discretion. And to this effect infinite examples may be alledged, that nothing is more inconstant than the multitude.

Then for the *peril*, none is to be compared to the frenzy of the people. For like as if a mad man get the sword in his hand, he is like not only to mischief other, but also himself; even so fareth it by the commons. If they once attain the power, they destroy both the nobility and themselves. Example of the Jacquerie that sprang in Beauvoisine and other countries of France, the year 1538. Of whom Froissard, in the 182 chapter of his first volume saith these words. “These mischievous people thus assembled without capitain or armure, robbed, brent, and slew al gentlemen that they could lay hands on,

and forced and ravished ladies and damoisels, and did such shameful deeds that no humane creature ought to think on any such. Which rage if they had prevailed in, they would at length have converted upon themselves, when the gentlemen had been utterly destroyed." I might bring a number of examples, as wel of our own nation as of others, to this effect, but none more cruel than the Jacquerie.

Thirdly, For *ignorance*. The multitude utterly knoweth nothing. And tho some examples of good succes may be alledged for the popular estates: yet if they be wel sought, it shall appear they never proceded of wisdom, but of necessity. And then comparing th'inconveniences that happened before the necessity to the successes that have followed, it shal be found that the wisdom, learned of necessity, is dearly bought. Even the Swizzers, that destroyed their gentlemen in a day, and that now glory most in their popularity, both have had of late years, and must needs have shortly the like ill fortune, that hath happened unto Athens, Florence, and such other.

Wherefore I determine, it is impossible any estate should long prosper, where the power is in the commonalty. For like as it becometh neither the man to be governed of the woman, nor the master of the servant, even so in al other regiments, it is not convenient the inferior should have power to direct the superior: because that of power procedeth commandment, and of commandment execution.

It may be said, it hath been often seen by experience that through the covetousnes of the nobility the commons have been oppressed. So that for the disordinate appetites of a few the multitude hath suffered. Which seemeth a greater evil than that the few should suffer for the multitude. Wherefore if the power were in the commonalty, the magistrates would always be the more careful to bridle the excesses of the nobility, and to advance the public wealth. Which argument indeed were very good in case they would always maintain their civil laws,

and the orders of their magistrats inviolate. But what popular estate can be read, that hath thirty years together eschewed sects, sedition and commotions, in such sort as once within thirty years the whole estate hath not been in danger of subversion? And then must I ask, whether is more pestilent to the commonwealth, the tyranny of a few, or the subversion of the estate?

I must confess there be two notable evils that in manner grow of ordinary in the nobility: with the one wherof the commons are offended, and with the other grieved. The first is ambition, and the second tyranny, which are both so united, that lightly thone followeth thother.

Whensoever the nobleman or magistrate useth the place of his calling for himself, without regard to the inferior sort, then waxeth he ambitious: the maintenance wherof ingendreth tyranny: that is to say, practise of unlawful gain, or cruel handling of his inferiors.

Wherefore Macchiavegli, in his discourses of the liberty of a commonwealth, determineth, that in cases of extremity, where the magistrats or nobility use this tyranny, the commotions of the people are necessary; to mitigate the excess of the great mens ambitions.

And in the greatest extremities indeed, it seemeth to have some reason: as in the necessity of the poor Athenians, when Solon was made prætor: or the like of the Romans, when they rebelled, and went to the Holy Hil, where Menenius Agrippa appeased them. But otherwise the ambition and tyranny of the nobility were much more tolerable, than the insolence, inconstancy, peril and ignorance of the multitude. For these faults of the nobility are nothing comparable to those of the commons: and especially in that the estate remaineth with them always inviolate. Wheras if the multitude prevail once in power; al goeth to confusion. The estate is subverted, every mans property, his possession and goods are

altered, and they themselves never return to order, but by necessity.

In the monarchy or estate of a prince, if the prince be good, like as he keepeth his commons void of power, even so he preserveth them from the tyranny of the nobility. For he is the same bridle in power over his nobility, that the nobility is over the commons, and tendeth as wel to the rule of the one, as to the preservation of the other.

And tho he were a tyrant, yet I say his tyranny is more tolerable, than the tyranny of the nobility of the estate of *optimates*: where instead of one, there be many tyrants. For the property of a tyrant is, not to suffer within his power any mo tyrants than himself. And if the tyranny of the nobility, as I have said before, be more tolerable than th'insolence of the multitude, much more tolerable then is the princes tyranny than the commons power.

Wherefore I conclude, that it is better for the commonwealth the power be in the nobility, than in the commonalty.

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Neither do I mean, that for the dangers rehearsed, the commons should be so kept down, as the wretched commons of some other countries be. But I would their disciplin and education should be such, that the only name of their prince should make them to tremble. Which they should never regard, if either the power were in them, or that they feared not a superior power. For if they have but so much liberty as to talk of the princes causes, and of the reason of laws, at once they shew their desire not to be ruled: wherof groweth contempt, and consequently disobedience, the mother of al errors.

T.

A third political Discourse made by William Thomas, Esq. for the King's study: intituled, What Princes Amity is best.

Cott. Libr.
Vespasian,
D. 18.

AMITY, or friendship, (as Cicero defineth it) is the perfect concord of al divine and humane things with benevolence and charity. And he saith, that, wisdome excepted, he knoweth not whether the immortal gods have give unto man any better thing. For it maketh the prosperous things more resplendent, and adversities the more easy. And if it were possible for the princes of these days to use that amity that some princes have don, as we read of Massinissa and Scipio, and of other, then it were no need to talk of other amity, than of that sweet private amity that Cicero so wel hath described. And without further question, that princes amity were best, in whose heart those rules were written. But the perverse nature of men in this time doth scarcely permit any perfect amity. Wherefore to treat of the *politic* amity, that is to say, the accustomable amity that may be had; it is first to be considered, to what end the amity of foreign princes doth serve, and what need one prince hath of the others amity.

Truly, if it be wel considered, tho there be many causes to be alledged, why it behoveth princes to have amity, yet al should tend but to one end, that is to say, to maintain their own. For the fruit of the foreign princes amity consisteth in two points.

One, in giving aid to resist an enemy, "*Ut sine injuria in pace vivatur*;" and the other in relieving his friends country with those commodities that it wanteth. Both which, as I have said, tend to that end that is rehersed before. And because few princes are of themselves hable to maintain their own, if they want friendship of other princes, therefore it followeth, this friendship to be very necessary. For it

hath been often seen, that princes and other estates have been often brought to that point for lack of friends, that having to do with such as were more puissant than themselves, they neither could maintain peace, nor sustain war. In which case either they must throw themselves into their laps that shall help them, or must become a prey to those that do assault them.

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And this happeneth through lack of foresight; when the prince or estate hath not mesured their forces with their doings. As Livy writeth of the Latins in the eighth book of his first Decad; "*Jam Latio is status erat rerum, ut neque pacem neque bellum pati possent.*" By reason that through lack of friends to aid them, the amity and the inimity of the Romans was indifferent unto them. For if they had peace, their conditions were intolerable; and their impotency in the war made them at length fall into thraldome.

But leaving the examples of people that had no prince, we may read, as wel of our own histories as of others, what inconveniences have happened to them that have wanted foreign friendship.

How often did the Danes in King Egberts time invade this realm, spoil it, and ransome it? How many doubtful and bloudy battails, were foughten between our nation and them in the fift year of Alureds reign? What made King Etheldred flee into Normandy, leaving his crown to the possession of Suono, or Suanus, a Dane? And had William Duke of Normandy been hable to expulse Harold King of England, and to enjoy the crown, if Harold had had any strange friend? If I should follow on with like examples, where the estates been utterly subverted and altered from one nation to another (much through the lack of friendship) I should be over tedious. But this I find, that tho there be many causes to be alledged in the subversion or alteration of estates; yet one of the greatest is the lack of princes amity.

Wherefore determining that among the great cares that princes ought to have for the preservation of themselves and their estates, this amity, spoken of before, should not be the least. We must now examine what princes amity is best. In which behalf four things are worthy of consideration; the propinquity, the antienty of friendship, the religion and the nature of the prince, whose amity is sought.

First, for *propinquity*. Albeit that it is both profitable and commendable to have the amity of all princes: yet it is evident that the neighbours amity is to be preferred before the strangers. And herein lyeth a question, whose amity is the better: his that may most annoy, or his that may most assist. For a mean prince that is a neighbour, may annoy more than a puissant prince that dwelleth far off. And such a puissant prince again may by contrary means assist more than the mean neighbour prince.

In effect, it hath been ever proved that th'amity of him which may most annoy is to be preferred. For by this amity ye do not only advoid the daunger of that annoyance that he may do, but ye also may have his aid to joyn with yours; which, tho it were but mean in respect of the far princes power, must nevertheles be such an help as may serve the turn more readily. And the amity of far-princes hath ever been proved so uncertain that a smal power of the neighbour hath been most commonly preferred before it. Wherefore like as th'amity of a private neighbour is unto every private man, for his domestick affairs, more necessary than th'amity of a stranger: even so in estate, th'amity of the neerest prince is more convenient than of him that is distant.

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For proof whereof, in the last wars between the emperor and French king, Barbarossa, the Turks admiral, with an army of 8000 Turks landed in Provence; being sent at the French kings request from the Turk to aid him against the emperor. As for the Turks puissance, I need not to rehearse it. And the French kings folly in this behalf declared

itself. For when he thought the emperor too strong for him, he made account that matching himself with one of more puissance, he should the rather suppress his enemy. But because he considered not, that a strange prince upon an uncertain hope would be loth to adventure any great power of his so far from him, that their return should be either desperate or doubtful, therefore he failed in his imagination. For the Turks sent him out a smal power, more for a continuance of amity than for amity indeed. That army travailed far, put the French king to great charges, discovered his country, and did him no service. So that it was *magis nomen quam præsidium*.

The contrary wherof proved with the emperor, who through the amity of his neighbour, the king of England, invaded France, and compelled the French king to conditions of advantage.

For ancient or long *continuance* of amity: what prince soever abandoneth the antient amity between him and another, or between his family and another, putteth himself to great adventure, and may be after a maner resembled to Esops water dog, that coveting the shadow lost the flesh. Because that unto amity there is none so great a minister as tyme. Which being once violated, without time again cannot be recovered. And seeing that in princes affairs, many times a new friendship one way engendreth breach in old amity another way, it cannot be chosen but the defiling of that amity must breed extreme displesure in the prince that receiveth the injury: whereof followeth the mortal hatred of an antient assured friend, for the uncertain amity of a new reconciled foe.

The example wherof hath been wel seen in Louis Sforza, late Duke of Milain; who through his unkind dealing with the Venetians, antient approved friends unto his family, fel into the hands of the last Louis French king. In whose prison he finished his miserable days.

For *religion*, it is necessary the princes that will observe amity be of one opinion. Otherwise it is impossible the amity should longer continue than necessity compelleth th'one or th'other to maintain it. For where are contrary opinions of religion, there can be no long agreement. And there is no prince, nor private man so simple, as, if it lay in his power, would not compel the whole world to believe as he doth.

p. 70. Indeed the Turk within his dominions compelleth no man to alter his religion: by reason whereof he is the more able peaceably to enjoy so large an empire. But if he thought he might bring al men to Mahomets law, (as he seeth the contrary) he would use that rigor in religion that he doth in other things. And there was never greater folly imagined, than the French kings device of amity with the Turk. For if the Turk observe not faith to the princes of his own religion, but destroyeth as many as come once under his power, what faith or amity can he bear to a christian prince? So that if by the Turks means the French king might have extirpated the emperor, (which was the end of this desired amity) his own destruction must have followed. For with the Turk, “Nulla sancta societas, nec fides regni est.”

Finally, for the princes *nature*; if he be a good prince, his amity must needs be preferred before the amity of a tyrant. Because th'one doth that willingly that the other never doth but of necessity.

Wherefore I conclude th'amity of that prince to be best, who is neerest neighbour, most antient friend, agreeable of religion and good of nature.

At the least, if these four cannot be found in one prince, then I think his amity best, who is endued with most of them.

V.

*Mr. Thomas his fourth Discourse to the King.
Touching his majesties outward affairs.*

WHAT case your majesties estate is in I doubt not but your self doth understand. And tho I know there be a number about your highness hable both to care for the remedy of that that is amiss, and also to prevent the imminent perills necessary to be foreseen: yet because, meeseemeth, some dul effects prove in things that ought to have greater life; therefore having discoursed somewhat on tyme, my bounden conscience provoketh me to utter mine opinion in present things. Which I most humbly beseech your majesty to accept, as offered not of any purpose, either to prefer mine inventions before the doings of wiser men, or to accuse any for neglecting their duties in these cases; but only of the earnest affection I have both unto our commonwealth, and also unto your highnes, on whom our wealth dependeth.

Time was, in the days of your father of famous memory, that this estate, being dread of al our neighbours, needed not to esteem any of them more than itself was esteemed. But now the case is so altered, that because we are both hated and condemned of them al, we, for lack of our own estimation, must either esteem them or redeem our estimation, or els perish.

And because there be infinite reasons that threaten us with war almost on every hand, therefore it is to be foreseen (as I have written in the Discourse of Princes Amity) that we fal not into such a war, as either we must be a prey to th'enemy, or els throw our selves into the lap of a dear purchased friend: th'one or other being equally prejudicial unto us. For the remedy wherof one of two things must be won; either friendship to help us, or time to make our selves strong.

As for friendship, I se not which way any is to be gotten, without either our extreme disadvantage, or the denying of our faith: neither of which is tolerable. And as I believe, it is impossible we should have any perfect amity with any foreign prince that dissenteth from us in religion; so because we have no neighbour of uniform religion, I determine we can find no friend, whose amity is to be trusted.

Wherefore we must of force turn us unto *Tyme*, to se how much we may win therof, and what we may win withal. And because neither is our force so ordered, that we may trust therby to win our tyme, nor our treasure such as may purchase it; therefore our extremest shift is to work by policy.

We have two puissant princes to deal withal; the French king, a doubtful friend, and the emperor a dissembling foe. The one hath don us already displeasure; and the other we are sure wil do it, if he can. For what quarrel hath he to the Germans, but religion? Wherin he hath sworn rather to spend his life, than not to reduce it to his own maner. And when he shal have overcomen those few that rest (which are of smal account in respect of his power) where shal he end his fury, but against us?

I wot wel some are of opinion that Maydelburgh, with the confederate cities, shal keep him occupied a while. Some other add, that the Germans are not yet won to the papistical sect. And some other reckon upon the Turks comming into Hungary. Al which (say they) are impediments sufficient to occupy the emperors mind from meddling with us. I like those reasons wel; beseeching God they may prove as true as they be spoken. But I am persuaded by arguments of greater efficacy, that the emperor esteemeth this matter of Maydelburgh very little, and much les the Germain protestants, and least of al the Turk. The reasons wherof are too long now to discourse. So that I fear me, he shal have sooner brought his purposes those ways to pass,

than we shal be wel advertised of it. Wherfore, think I, we have great cause to mistrust both his practises and himself.

On the other side, the French king is already in the possession of Scotland, and practiseth in Ireland amongst a people that loveth liberty; and that for every smal hope of gain wil be ready to revolt. Wherin if he should prevail, we might reckon ourselves besieged. So that, the one and other reckoned, we are not only abandoned of al friends that may stand us instead, but in maner invironned of enemies.

Thus I have cast the peril of the worst, to the intent the worst might be provided for. For the best will help it self.

And because the time doth yet serve us to practise, having no enemy that hitherto hath taken his sword in hand; therefore as we may now common to put them in hope of things that we mean not; and therby win time both to provide us mony, and to order our men: so when time shal draw either of their swords, and we unprovided (as presently we are) then must we either perish, or be a prey to th'one of them, or at the best receive intolerable conditions. For say what men wil, our power without some friendship is of smal substance; yea, tho we were al as good subjects as Edward III. had, wheras now I fear me, there be as wel hollow as whole hearts to be found.

p. 72.

And albeit that our quarrel is in God, and God our quarrel, who never faileth them that trust in him; yet forasmuch as wickednes reigneth in the midst of us, like as we should not mistrust the goodnes of God, so ought we neither to neglect that policy that may help us, to advoid the like captivity that for wickednes happened to the elect people of Israel.

And this is my device,

Your majesty shal either write, or send some trusty man with credit to the emperour, declaring unto him

(as he knoweth already) in what sort the French king hath obtained Scotland, and how he practiseth in Ireland ; purposing in your tender years to oppress the realm and subjects. And albeit ye mistrust not the emperors perfect and sincere amity, &c. yet to the end he would join in a streit maner, ye would gladly know, what his majesty would require of you ; or covenant, that if the French king should now break with your highnes, ye might be sure, he would also break with France on his part, and generally be friends to friends, and enemies to enemies.

No doubt, he would hearken to such a message ; and with the first would demaund alteration of religion ; which I think should be the principal point on the treaty on his part. Wherefore, as the time served, I would wish the communication therof not to be refused, and the matter to be dissembled, with such practises of delays as may best serve to the winning of time. Wherof your majesty shal gather two commodities.

One, that by keeping the emperor in hope of alteration he may cease from working of that mischief towards you and your realm, that the mean time he would surely go about.

And the other, the French king may have cause so to doubt this league, that I believe he shal not offer to disturb you ; which indeed were a great matter. By means wherof your majesty should not only get time more and more to establish religion within your realm, but also to put your subjects in a readiness, and to provide you of mony against the time of hostility. And if the time may so long be won, that the emperor dy, whose life cannot long endure, your majesty shall not only be free of this practise, but also free of France, who surely shal have enough to do that way.

As for the French king we have peace with him, and no cause of breach : but if he pick a quarrel to break, his hope of gain shal be so great, that I see no reasonable overture of our part sufficient to ap-

pease him. And then it is necessary to threaten, that ye would rather yield in conditions to the emperor, than endure so unjust a war as he for greedines shal begin. And if you doubt of that aggreement stop him not, I cannot devise what should stay him, but our own weapons.

p. 75.

For Scotland, I have no hope of good but one, that the governor by our comforts may be inticed to take the crown upon him. If be, as he may be thereunto persuaded, we shal not only establish a puissant friend to our selves, but also a perpetual enemy to France. The compassing wherof had need to be handled both very secretly and prudently.

For Ireland; if there be just cause of suspicion that any of those lords should revolt, let some means be devised to cal them, or the chief of them hither, as shortly as may be. And here let them be wel entreated, til the next summer be spent. In which time their troth shall be tryed. And beside that, their entertainment may alter their malice, if there be any; or at the least establish their allegiance.

For Denmark; albeit the king is of our religion, and the country both, yet they were never our friends. And unles we were more hable with money to hire them, than the emperor or French king are, let us never hope good of them. For naturally they are given to the gain; and of al spoils, they desire the spoil of our nation. So that with little mony they may be hired against us; where a great deal of our mony shal scarcely cause them to sit stil. Nevertheles I think it were not amiss to practice with them, as long as it turn not to our disadvantage.

Objections that may be argued to the contrary.

To my device of practice with the emperor, I may be answered, that it is dangerous for three causes.

One, that the knowledge of this practice shal en-

courage the papists of this realm to be the more obstinate.

Another, if it be known to Maydelburgh, and the other powers that presently defend our religion, it shal be both a discourage to them, and a slander to us.

And third, that when the emperor shal perceive our dalliance with him, it shal set him al on fire, where now he is but warm.

To the first, I reply, that if we quailed in our proceedings at home, the papists might take courage; but following earnestly as we have begun, let them hope what they wil, the end shall change their minds. And the mean while, they shal neither do nor talk.

And to the second, tho' we would, we are not able to aid Maydelburgh, and their fellows, as well for the distance, as for our own necessity; having enough to do to save our selves. So that they can take no *discourage*, where they can hope no succour.

And for slander it can be none, unles the slanderous effect follow; which shal be no part of our meaning. And if we esteem the worldly fame, at the worst the greater number (I mean the papists) shal praise us for the time,

p. 74. To the third point, the emperor is already so warm, that if his fire might kindle us, we should al burn, and look for none other, but whensoever his time seemeth, he will make us smoak indeed. Wherefore if any thing be to be won of him, it is only time. Which shal be evil handled, if it be not drawn one twelve or fifteen months long. And if we begin not this practice, or Maydelburgh be won, the emperor wil afterward procede with us by a maner of commandment, rather than by treaty. For when the sword is shaken over our heads, then shal it be too late for us to talk: at the worst, what hurt can we take by this practice? Common as much as they list, as long as they be not able to compel us, so long we need not to yield in any thing unto them. And

if they may compel, then there is no boot. So that wheras good may come to us of our practice divers ways, I cannot se which way any hurt may grow of it at all.

For Scotland, it may be said, what peril were it, if the French king should know our practice, and take displesure against us? I answer, the same peril that he is in with us, for practising in Ireland, being such as ye may be sure shal be no cause of war. Yea, it may happen to set such a broyle between the governor and him, as may bring them by the ears indeed. And as for the conquest of Scotland, let us never look for it. For if we were not able to conquer it, when we had to do with it alone, much les able are we now, when we must either conquer France, or forbear Scotland.

Mary, for the Irish lords there is peril, unles the matter be so handled, that they may come by way of treaty, devised upon persuasion of amity. Which, if it may be brought to pas, shal serve much to the purpose. Otherwise it may be the cause to make them revolt, if they perceive themselves once to be suspected.

For the realm withinwards.

Two things are principally to be applied: the readines of men, and a mas of mony.

Preparation doth not only discourage the enemy, but also encourage the subject. Who sustaining a suddain war unlooked for, waxeth immediately timorous: where being warned, he waxeth hardy.

A people in Illyria, called Acarnani, were threatened to be destroyed by their neighbours the Ætoli; insomuch that desperately they armed from the age of fifteen to sixty, as many as could bear armour, swearing never to return vanquisht; and did not only covenant, that if any fled from the battail, they should neither have lodging nor victual with any of the nation at home; but also prayed their neigh-

hours, the Epiroti, that if they were slain in the battail, they would bury them al in one place with this epitaph: “ Hic siti sunt Acarnani, qui adversus vim atque injuriam Ætolorum pro patria pugnantes, mortem occubuerunt.” By reason of which determination, the Ætoli for al their puissance gave them over, and suffered them to live in quiet. And so it fareth by them that in like extremities do valiantly provide for the worst.

p. 75. Wherefore mine opinion is, that your majesty should immediately cause muster to be taken throughout the realm, to se first what every man can make. And let nothing be undon that may serve to have men ready in al events, tho’ ye should never need man. At the worst this one profit shal grow of it, those subjects that have their heads occupied with civil commotions, mistrusting some outward war, shal the les think on their mischief at home. And the outward enemy shall have les mind to offend, where he seeth preparation of defence.

On the other side, let no way be omitted that may bring in *mony*, to make such a mas as may serve the need. And when ye have it, spend no peny of that proportion, whatsoever shift be made for your ordinary charges. This don, I think your enemies shal either suffer your majesty in peace, or at the worst have smal advantage of you in war.

I have said my foolish opinion touching your highnes exterior affairs; I shal eftsones humbly beseech your majesty, if I have spoken any thing imprudently, to take my simple meaning in good part. For as my desire is to advaunce your highnes affairs, if it lay in my power, so if on my advice any contrary succes should happen, my meaning shal deserve no blame.

There be things also in the present civil governance that in mine opinion might be amended: Wherin if your majesty command me, I shal gladly utter what I think.

W.

William Thomas, Esq. to the King; touching the reformation of the Coin.

TO THE KINGS MAJESTY.

UPON Friday last Mr. Throgmerton declared your majesties plesure unto me, and delivered me withal the notes of certain discourses. Which according to your highnes commaundment I shal most gladly apply to send you one every week, if it be possible for me in so little time to compas it. As in very deed it were more than easy, if the daily service of mine office required not that great travail and diligence that it doth.

And because he told me your majesty would first hear mine opinion touching the reformation of the coin, albeit that I think my self both unmeet and unhable to give any judgment in so great and weighty a matter, without the counsil and advice of others, yet since it is your highnes plesure to have it secret, which I do much commend, I am therfore the bolder to enterprize the declaration of my fantasy; trusting that upon this ground better devices and better effect may ensue, than my head alone can contrive.

And because Mr. Throgmerton is absent, I have delivered it, thus sealed, to Mr. Fitz-Williams to deliver unto your majesty, as it were a thing from the council; assuring your highnes that no creature is, or shal be, privy either to this, or to any of the rest, through me. Which I do keep so secret to this end, that your majesty may utter these matters as of your own study: wherby it shal have the greater credit with your council.

p. 76.

As for the danger to be author of a new thing (which when the turn cometh I shal declare at length) I have a wonderful confidence of surety in your goodnes. But at the worst, I esteem my life les than the service of my prince and country.

I need not to rehearse the private respects that should move your majesty to the reformation of your coin : but if there were no mo reasons, meseemeth the necessary satisfaction of your people in one kind is a sufficient argument.

Plato, in his dialogue of Hipparchus De Lucri Cupiditate, affirmeth, that al men naturally desire gain ; and after this maner he proveth it : “ Omnes homines bonum appetunt. Et quia lucrum utile est, utile vero bonum, omnes natura lucrum appetunt. Quodque hæc appetitio naturalis laudanda est.”

I will not dispute of the difference, ordinate and disordinate, in this desire. But it is manifest, that al men desire gain ; and when they want the chiefest thing they covet to gain, then their desire kindleth, and becometh vitious : which engendreth infinite inconveniences.

Now to prove that your majesties subjects want their most desire, I think that no man wil deny, that gold and silver are the sweetest fruit of al gain : not for its self, but because the having and use therof bringeth man in maner to every thing that he desireth. And because there is no one thing can serve him to so many purposes. Therfore of consequence there is no one thing that he can so much desire.

If then your subjects want both gold and silver, how can their desire be quiet? Perhaps it shal be answered, They want no mony ; they have silver in a kind, yea, and gold too, tho' they show it not.

To that I reply, first for the mony, they esteem it so little, that they wil employ it to great disadvantage rather than keep it. Which breedeth multitude of bargains, and utter impoverishing of the needy.

And for *silver*, they have it indeed in such a kind, as they neither esteem it for silver, nor can without great los use it for silver.

As for *gold*, if there be any quantity remaining (as some men think but smal) it cannot come to light. Because, that like as the value of our mony doth

daily decay, so doth the gold encrease to such value, that lying stil it amounteth above the revenues of any land. And he that shal live twelve months shal se, that an old angel shal in value and estimation want little of twelve shillings of our current money; if provision for redress of your majesties coin be not had the rather.

Thus in mine opinion it appeareth, that the peoples chiefest desire shal kindle, (if it be not already) and at length must needs burn. For most commonly they feel not smart or they understand.

And the more plague it is a great deal, by reason that not the mean people only, but the middle sort and the greatest do suffer for this; each man in his kind. p. 77.

Conclude then, that of extreme necessity this coin must be reformed, and that without delay.

Your majesties most bounden servant,
WILLIAM THOMAS.

X.

William Thomas, Esq; to the King: apologizing for some passages in his discourse concerning the amendment of the coin, and in his other discourses, writ by the kings commandment.

PLEASETH your highnes, as I said at the first, though I do study these discourses, and am right glad to write the best opinions that I can gather, yet I meant not to be such a director, as were not glad himself to learn. Neither do I trust mine authors so much, as not to mistrust contrary successes, both to their rules and their examples. Nevertheles since that providence which men may attain in things, is had by study of rules and examples, (for he buyeth ii dear that hath it only by experience) most happy is he in al regiments, that knoweth most arguments to choose the best in doubtful cases. Wherfore I

shal most humbly besecch your highnes to take my study as a pyke or a quarrel to a deeper matter, and with my good wil so to supply my lack, that tho' I appear sometime too vehement, or too much assured, yet that I be not therfore condemned, since it is not I, but the matter as I take it.

And where indeed I was somewhat earnest for the reformation of the coins, wherein it pleased your majesty to command my opinion; truly my zeale to my country did so prick me, that I could not forbear to exclaime against the fault: like as for the redress I am not yet dissuaded from my device. For tho' I understand there be other arguments perchance better than mine, yet I like not his opinion that in this case groundeth himself on *malum bene conditum ne moveas*. For *malum* it is indeed, but *conditum* it is not, and *bene* it wil never be. Wherefore *necesse est moveri*. And this I dare stand to in argument, that where I devised an exaction of 12*d.* in the pound, if the mony thus continue, your majesty by reason of the mints shal exact above 6*sh.* of the pound; and yet be undon your self at length, unles ye purchase land withal.

And whether it hath made your majesty rich or no, I cannot tel; but I am sure this coinage, since the first beginning, hath exacted upon your subjects already above 8*sh.* in the pound.

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As for their frivole reasons, that allege three parts of the four through the realm to fare the better for it, I will not say that either they understand little of policy, or els they would be glad to become commoners themselves; but this I dare avow, there is not one of a hundred, no, not one of a thousand, that is contented with this coine.

Helas! can we suffer neither fault nor remedy? neither war nor peace?

Your majesties most humble servant,

WILLIAM THOMAS.

Y.

Sir Philip Hoby, the kings ambassador at the emperors court, to the Duke of Somerset; concerning the Interim. From Augsburgh.

IT may please your grace to understand, that the 28th day of the last month the Bishop of Rome's legate, that came last hither, had audience of the emperors majesty, with whom he was a long while. And the same day both he and the old legate dined with Grandevela; where passed much familiarity and friendly entertainment on both parties. On Friday was sevenight the French ambassadors brother came hither in post. What news he bringeth I cannot learn: but the morrow after his coming the ambassador was with the emperor, and had with his majesty long conference. Of these things had I no perfect knowledg until within these four days: and therefore could not advertise of them by my last letters.

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Tit. B. 2.

The emperor, the diet being now finished, converteth his whole study to the setting forth of the *Interim*: which it is said he is earnestly bent to cause these people inviolably to observe. He useth to bring his purpose to pas sundry ways. And attempteth first by fair means to allure them to follow his wil. But if this way shal take no place, it is thought, as partly hath been already experienced, he wil not fail to use extremity. The fear wherof hath caused many to relent, that els would have hardly been brought to grant to the Interim. The three townes, Constance, Argentine, and Lynda, as in my last letters I wrot unto your grace, have not yet granted unto the Interim. And namely Lynda: which having first (as by my letters of the 26 of the last month I adverted your grace) utterly refused to grant thereto; being then by the emperors council, after they had wel laugh'd at them, willed under the pretence of pity to take better advice, and

p. 79.

to consult together again, and make some wiser answer, have now, on Wednesday last, sent their secretary hither. Who on the behalf of the whole town hath declared unto the emperors council, that according to their commandment they have eftsones assembled their whole commonalty, and generally al their whole town together. Where they have ripely considered the effects of the Interim, and taken advice and opinion of sundry wel learned and godly men therin: and finally have perceived, that it is far disagreeable from the word of God, whose law and commandments they are bound, upon pain of damnation to observe. Which having a special regard unto, and fearing more the threatnings of God, and his just indignation towards the neglecters of his wil and scripture, than the los of goods, life, or any other temporal thing; they have resolved in conclusion, not to accept or agree in any condition therunto. Which is their resolute answer. But to the end the emperors majesty shal not think this to procede of any obstinacy or disobedience towards him, (whom they do acknowledg to be their prince and superior) they wil not, they say, refuse or resist whatsoever it shal please him to dispose of them. Their gates shal not be shut to any of his soldiers or men, either Spaniards or Italians (with whom they have been oftentimes threatned) nor any other that it shal like him to send; they wil not withstand, nor againsay his pleasure therin. Yea they are content he take, if he list, their goods and lives from them. Which he shal not need by strong hand to go about: it shal suffice him to command them, and they wil, they say, gladly offer their heads to the block.

This answer of so smal a corner was not a little wondred at of the hearers, and their boldnes and constancy had in much admiration. Grandevela threatened the utter desolation of them and their town. But yet I cannot hear of any thing hath been don to them. Constance is not yet reconciled; and therfore, as enemy to the emperor, have not hitherto been re-

quired to answer. And Argentine, being now lately commanded to declare their mind, have not yet brought in their resolution.

The Duke of Wirtimburgh, having received from the emperor the Interim, with commandment to se it take place, and to be observed throughout his country, it is reported he did not then make any countenance to disobey the emperors wil herein; but received his commission very reverently. And shortly after suffering the Interim to go abroad, and the emperors commissioners appointed for that purpose to set it forth, as it liked them; suddenly, without any mention made of the Interim, or as tho' he thought nothing therof, (as I hear say he is a man somewhat aged and merry-conceited, when he list) he caused proclamation to be made in his country, that each person, for every time they heard mas, should pay unto him eight duckats of gold. He forbad not the mas to be said, but would have the hearers pay him his tribute. This thing, tho' it be commonly reported, I do not greatly credit: yet to the intent your grace may perceive the imaginations and fantazies of men here, I have thought good among the rest to place this report.

On Friday last Grandevela dined with the old Duke of Saxony. Unto whom after dinner he remembered the emperors clemency towards him; how gently he had been, since his coming to the emperors power, ordered. Which his majesty, he said, did nothing forethink, but thought the same right wel bestowed, and would continue his goodnes towards him, and do more for him than he was ware of, if he would now satisfy his request. And here Grandevela declared unto him the effect of the Interim, which, he said, the emperor had, upon grounded considerations, and for the quietnes of al Germany, set forth; and the same for the like respects, he said, was of al the princes, and most of the commonalty embraced and willingly received. He desired and willed him therfore on his majesties behalf, that he

also would shew himself comformable and grant therto; which should he said be right acceptable to his majesty, and not unprofitable to him. To this the duke answered, that he was now in the emperors power; his majesty might do with him, and use his carcas, as it liked him. He neither could nor would resist his pleasure therin: but humbly besought his majesty, he would not press him to grant to this thing, which, he said, being as it is against the word and law of God, he would not agree unto, tho' he wist to dy for it.

With this answer Grandevela went to the emperor; who having heard the dukes mind was much moved therewith, and sent Grandevela back again to him. Who by the emperors order first commanded three hundred Spanyards, more than the accustomed band, to be ready, and ward the dukes lodging. And then went he to the duke and shewed him the emperors pleasure, seing he so obstinately refused to grant to his request, that the order, which was prescribed at his taking, should now be straitly observed, and no more gentlenes and courtesy shewed unto him, seing it could so little prevail. And forthwith he caused al the daggs and other weapons, that the dukes servants had there in the house, to be sought out and brought unto him: which he immediately sent away. And wheras the duke had then about him above seventy servants, he sent them al away, saving twenty seven. Which is the number allowed him by the order appointed at his first taking. He also sent from him his preacher, whom he threatned with fire, if he hasted not forth of this country. His cooks and other officers were also commanded, upon pain of burning, they should not from thenceforth prepare or dress for him any flesh upon the Fridays or Saturdays, or on other fasting days, commanded by the Romish church. In this straitness remaineth the duke now. Wherewith he seemeth to be so little moved, as there can be no alteration perceived in him, either by word or coun-

tenance. But is even now as merry, and as content to the utter shew, as he was at any time of his most prosperity.

Grandevela's son, called Monsieur de Shantonny, who was sent to Spain to carry the news, and present the conclusion of the spousals between the Arch Duke of Austriche, son to the king of the Romans, and the emperors daughter, is now four days past returned to this court, with the answer of the said ladies conformity, and consent of the estates of Spain herein. He was immediately dispatched in post by the emperor, to cary these news to the king of the Romans. Who, as by my last letters I wrote unto your grace, departed hence on Monday last.

This town is stil ful of Scottish wars, and of the French assistance there, which I warrant you is bragged out to the uttermost. Wherunto I am not able to make any direct answer for want of advertisement from thence. My hope is your grace wil consider this my grief and help to relieve it. Herewith it may please your grace to receive the order of the publication and conclusion of this last diet, and the articles agreed upon in the same, which John Bernardine hath gotten. Thus Almighty God preserve your grace, and send you most happy succes in al your affaires. From Auspurge the 9th day of July, Anno 1548.

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Your graces at commandment,
 PHELYP HOBY.

Z.

The Confession of Sir William Sharrington concerning his frauds in coining the kings mony.

In the tower, the second of February, 1548.

I Sir William Sharrington Knight, humbly acknowledge and confess, that I have offended the king his majestie, and his laws. First, in that, contrary to

MSS.
 penet me.

the prohibition sent unto me, and without warraunt, I coyned testons in the moneths of May, June, and July, in the yere of our Lord 1547, to a great sum; but the certenty therof I know not.

And also in the clyppings or shearings of the mony I defrawd his highnes veary muche, but how muche I cannot be certen; but I am sure it was above IIII M. Li. Wherby upon a desire of my own gayne I made the money too light out of the remedy.

I do also confess, that when the monethly doings or books were brought unto me, I did use every moneth to strike out as moch as I thought good: and to th'entent I might the better do so, I falsified th'indentures of the coynage, and burned al such bokes, indentures and writings, as might justly have charged me. But to what sum I deceyved his majesty by this meane, I am not able to express. But sure I am it amounteth to a notable sum, moch more than al that I have will be able to pay.

For the which my said offences, and al other, I submit my self wholly to his highnes mercy, and acknowledg my self most worthy death and heynous punishment; and only trust of his highness mercy and perdon, by the goodnes of my l. protector his grace who hath hitherto ben most merciful to al men.

p. 32. Humbly, of my knees, and with a most woful hert, a man most ashamed of my deads, of any man lyving; requiring not justice to be executed towards me, but mercy. And what fortune or lyf God shal put into the kings majesty, my l. protector his grace, and the counsayles minds to geve me; that must nedes be better then my deserts. And I shal take that thankfully, as of the benefit oonly, and dayly prey for ther estate, with most herty preyer and request to Almighty God.

F. Shrewsbury.

W. SHARINGTON.

Thomas Southampton.

T. Smith,

Z Z.

A pious Prayer of Q. Katharin Parre ; by her composed in short Ejaculations suited to her condition.

MOST benign Lord Jesu, grant me thy grace, that it may alway work in me, and persevere with me unto the end. MSS. D.
Sampson,
M.D.

Grant me, that I may ever desire and wil that which is most pleasant, and most acceptable unto thee.

Thy wil be my wil; and my wil be to follow always thy will.

Let there be alway in me one wil and one desire with thee, and that I have no desire to wil or not to wil, but as thou wilt.

Lord, thou knowest what thing is most profitable and most expedient for me.

Give me therfore what thou wilt, as much as thou wilt, and when thou wilt.

Do with me what thou wilt, as it shal please thee, and as shal be most to thine honor.

Put me where thou wilt, and freely do with me in all things after thy will.

Thy creature I am, and in thy hands; lead me and turn me where thou wilt.

Lo! I am thy servant, ready to al things that thou commandest. For I desire not to live to my self, but to thee.

Lord Jesu! I pray thee grant me grace, that I never set my heart on the things of this world, but that al carnal and worldly affections may utterly dy and be mortified in me.

Grant me above al things, that I may rest in thee, and fully quiet and pacify my heart in thee.

For thou, Lord, art the very true peace of heart, and the perfect rest of the soul; and without thee al things be grievous and unquiet.

My Lord Jesu, I beseech thee be with me in every place, and at al times; and let it be to me a

special solace, gladly for to love to lack all worldly solace.

And if thou withdraw thy comfort from me at any time, keep me, O Lord, from separation, (desperation,) and make me patiently to abide thy will and ordinance.

p. 83.

O Lord Jesu, thy judgments be righteous, and thy providence is much better for me than al that I can imagine or devise.

Wherefore do with me in al things as it shal please thee. For it may not be but wel, al that thou dost.

If thou wilt that I be in light, be thou blessed; if thou wilt that I be in darknes, be thou also blessed.

If thou vouchsafe to comfort me, be thou highly blessed; and if thou wilt I ly in trouble, and without comfort, be thou likewise ever blessed.

Lord, give me grace gladly to suffer whatsoever thou wilt shal fal upon me, and patiently to take at thy hand good and bad, bitter and sweet, joy and sorrow: and for al things that shal befall unto me heartily to thank thee.

Keep me, Lord, from sin, and I shal then dread neither death nor hell.

O! what thanks ought I to give unto thee, which hast suffered the grievous death of the cross to deliver me from my sins, and to obtain everlasting life for me!

Thou gavest us most perfect example of patience, fulfilling and obeying the wil of thy father, even unto death.

Make me, wretched sinner, obediently to use my self after thy wil in al things, and patiently to bear the burthen of this corrupt life.

For tho' this life be tedious, and as a heavy burthen to my soul, yet nevertheles through thy grace and by example of thee, it is now made much more easy and comfortable, than it was before thy incarnation and passion.

Thy holy life is our way to thee, and by following of that we walk to thee that art our head and Saviour.

And except thou hadst gon before and shewed us the way to everlasting life, who would endeavour himself to follow thee, seeing we be yet so slow and dul; having the light of thy blessed example and holy doctrin to lead and direct us?

O Lord Jesu, make that possible by grace that is to me impossible by nature.

Thou knowest wel, that I may little suffer, and that I am soon cast down, and overthrowen with a little adversity. Wherefore I beseech thee, O Lord, to strengthen me with thy spirit, that I may willingly suffer for thy sake al maner of troubles and afflictions.

Lord, I wil knowledge unto thee al mine unrighteousnes, and I wil confes to thee al the unstableness of my heart.

Oftentimes a very little thing troubleth me sore, and maketh me dul and slow to serve thee.

And sometimes I purpose to stand strongly; but when a little trouble cometh, it is to me great anguish and grief; and of a right little thing riseth a grievous temptation to me.

Yea, when I think my self to be sure and strong, as it seemeth I have the upper hand, suddenly I feel my self ready to fal with a little blast of temptation.

Behold therfore, good Lord, my weakness, and consider my frailnes, best known to thee. p. 84.

Have mercy on me and deliver me from al iniquity and sin, that I be not intangled therewith.

Oftentimes it grieveth me sore, and in a maner confoundeth me, that I am so unstable, so weak and so frail in resisting sinful motions.

Which altho' they draw me not away to consent, yet nevertheless their assaults be very grievous unto me.

And it is tedious to me to live in such battail, albeit I perceive that such battail is not unprofitable for me. For therby I know the better my self and mine own infirmities, and that I must seek help only at thy hands, &c.

It is to me an unpleasant burthen, what pleasure soever the world offereth me here.

I desire to have inward fruition in thee, but I cannot attain therto, &c.

And to a great length are these pious breathings of the soul of this excellent queen, extended.

p. 85.

Z Z Z.

An account of the kings Sales of chauntries, colleges, &c. in the second year of his reign.

Chantry, College, Hospital, Guild, &c.	Yearly value.	Purchase.	Purchaser.
K. Edw. Book of Sales. The chantry upon the bridge of great Totneys in the county of Devon, and other lands.	21 0 0ob.	397 4 8ob.	John Peter and John Bogan.
Chantry of St. Ma- ries, within the parochial church of Chard, coun- ty Somerset, and other lands.	44 8 0q. 5 4 11	1417 19 9ob.	John White- horn and John Bayly.
College of S. John Baptist, of Stoke, <i>juxta</i> <i>clare in com. Suffolk,</i> &c.	3 6 8 18 2 4 0 6 8 6 11 2ob.	958 3 5ob.	John Cheke & Walter Moyle.
Capital messuage and tenement called Catford, lying in Lewisham in Kent, lately belonging to the coll. of Corpus Christi, near the church of S. Laur. Pountney, Lond. &c.	98 0 6ob.	2034 14 10	Hen. Pol- stede & W. More.
Chantry in the pa- rochial church of S. Mich. Coslam, in the city of Norw. &c.	3 2 11 4 17 0 2 18 0 2 16 0 11 6 8	492 11 8	Edward Warner, Kt. and Richard Catlin.
The college of the name of Jesu, in Bury S. Edm. Suff. &c.	18 4 6 2 0 0	497 8 0	Richard Corbet.
The messuage and house called the Trinity Hal, otherwise the Com-			W. Hawy alias So- mers.

Chantry, College, Hospital, Guild, &c.	Yearly value.	Purchase.	Purchaser.
mon Hal of the frater- nity, or guild of the Trinity, founded in the ch. of S. Botolph with- out Aldersgate. And 8 meases commonly called the Trinity Ally, &c.	18 16 0	Given.	
Three messuages, tene- ments, &c. in S. Mary, Aldermary, London, be- longing to the chantry at the altar of S. John Baptist, in the chappel neer the parochial ch. of Aldermary aforesaid, upon the charnel there, commonly called Ex- portes Chauntry, and di- vers other lands, &c.	45 0 8 1 12 6	689 7 4	Walter Young & Edward Young.
Al the chauntry, call- ed Edmunds Chauntry, in Barrington in Cam- bridge, &c.	69 6 2q.	958 17 7ob.	Thomas Wendy & John Barton.
The chauntry of S. Joh. Evangelist, and S. J. Baptist, called Farn- acres Chauntry, in the parish of Wickham, Comitat. Durham.	17 19 6	In considera- tion of service.	Alex. Pringel.
The chauntry of Hed- ingham, alias Hedning- ham Sible in Comit. of Essex, &c.	8 14 5 2 15 4	324 6 0	John Lu- cas, Esq.
The chauntry of Co- berley in Glocestersh.	8 12 0	206 8 0	William Bridges, Kt.
The free chappel in Caster S. Trinity, in the county of Norf. <i>cum</i> <i>pertinentiis</i> .	2 13 4	64 0 0	Wm. Pas- ton, Kt.
Two chauntries in Wivenhoo, in Essex, and the maner of Albins belonging therto, &c.	13 9 0 2 0 0	339 18 0	Walter Cely.
A messuage, tene- ment and burgage in the county of Dorset, belonging to the chaun-			Fraun. Samwel and John Byll.

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p. 87.

Chantry, College, Hospital, Guild, &c.	Yearly value.	Purchase.	Purchaser.
try of S. Maries, found- ed within the church of S. Trinity of Dorchester, &c.	6 7 2 8 7 2	149 11 8	
Al the sept, scite, cir- cuit and precincts of the college of the new work of Leic. commonly call- ed The New Work Col- lege, in the town of Leic.	21 10 4	453 6 4	John Beau- mont, Esq and W.Gyes.
The chauntry of Har- row, founded in the church of Harrow upon the Hil, in Middlesex; and divers others lands, &c.	9 6 0 10 18 8 0 12 0 10 10 10 1 9 4 2 18 0 1 12 0 1 6 0	742 8 6	W. Gyes and Mi- chael Purefey.
Message and tene- ment called The Bel, and other houses and tenements, &c. in the parish of S. Katharin Creechurch, given to maintain a priest to ce- lebrate mass.	13 6 0	219 7 0	Giles Harrison
Boggeshal chauntry in Great Badow, in the county of Essex, &c.	16 6 8 8 17 8ob. 0 9 2	562 12 1	W. Mild- may and John Mildmay
The chauntry in the parochial church of Kirkeby in Comit. of Lanc.	6 15 0	148 10 0	Thomas Stanley.
The chauntry of Great Sampford, in Essex. &c. and the chauntry of Isel- ham, in the county of Cambr.	12 10 8	314 19 10	Thomas Tyrrel.
The guild or frater- nity of S. Trinity and S. Joh. Baptist, in the pa- rochial ch. of Shepton Mallet in Somers.	14 17 8	357 4 0	John Horner.

Chantry, College, Hospital, Guild, &c.	Yearly value.	Purchase.	Purchaser.
The messuage and tenement and al shops, cellars, &c. situate within Christs Church within Newgate, Lond. For the sustentation of a priest to celebrate in the church of Hackney, in Middlesex, &c.	20 0 0 1 19 0 4 10 0 3 0 0 2 12 8	894 4 2	Thomas Persse & W. Alexander.
The rectory and free chappel of S. Leonards, in the parish of Hollington in Sussex; and the chauntry of Lewton, founded in Awton Gifford in Devon, &c.	17 1 11	1154 15 0	John Keyme & Richd. Keyme.
Messuages, lands and tenements, &c. situate in the parishes of Chrisale in Essex, and Edelmeton, lately belonging to the chauntry of S. George the martyr, within the cathedral church of Heref. and divers other, &c.	4 0 0 0 6 8 1 0 0 1 9 7 3 19 6	311 16 0	Thomas Crawley.
Messuage and tenements called The Plough, and other lands, houses, &c. lying in Faiter Lane, Lond. belonging to the fraternity of S. Sithe, in the church of S. Andrews Holborn.	31 15 6	643 16 10	Thomas Bartlet and Rich. Modye.
The chauntry of Sprotton, in the county of Northampton, and al the messuages, mills, &c.	19 16 8	448 7 4	Silvester Taverner and J. Hynde.
House in Bunbury in the county of Chester, called the Chauntry-house, belonging to the chauntry or chauntries of two priests or clarks, lately founded in the parochial church of			Thomas Bromley, Kt.

Chauntry College, Hospital, Guild, &c.	Yearly value.	Purchase.	Purchaser.
Bunbury, called Sir Rafe Egertons chauntry.	12 15 4	435 16 8	
Lands and pastures, &c. lying in Westham in Essex, and al that land containing, by estimation, an acre and half in Layton, Essex, given to the sustentation of an anniversary, &c.	85 15 7 <i>ob.</i> 5 4 0	1924 10 1	Thomas Golding and Walter Celye.
A chauntry in Sevenoke in Kent, and the messuage and tenement called The Chauntry-house, &c.	39 8 8	947 17 0	W. Twisden and John Brown.
Mansion and tene-ment, called The Mansion House of the college, or New-hal, in the mountrey within the city of Wells, &c.	15 0 4 2 13 8 3 0 7 8 9 1 3 10 4 1 6 8 4 13 4	728 0 2	John Ayleworth and Wm. Lacye.
A ruinous chappel, called the Rood Chappel of Greenwich.	0 5 0	In consideration of service.	Robert Hockeland.
The college of S. John Baptist, of Shotesbroke in Berks, &c.	28 9 2	963 0 8	Thomas Weldon and Edw. Weldon.
Manor and rectory of Winkbourn, in Nottinghamsh. belonging to the priory or hospital of S. Johns of Jerusalem, in England.	27 19 7	In consideration of the rectory of Eastbech, and in performance of K. Henry VIII. his will.	William Burnel.
The manor of Colbridge, in Kent, belonging to the college of S. Stephen, Westmin. and divers, &c.	23 2 6 5 1 11 <i>ob.</i> 2 16 4 <i>ob.</i> 1 18 0	749 17 10 <i>ob.</i>	Edward Wotton, Kt.
The manors of Awbery, Winterbourn, and Charleton, in Wilts; parcel of the possession and rents of the college of S. Mary and Al-	Non patet.	2808 4 10 <i>ob.</i>	William Sharington, Kt.

Chauntry, College, Hospital, Guild, &c.	Yearly value.	Purchase.	Purchaser.
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Saints of Fotheringhay, in Northampt. &c.		and in perform- ance of King Henries wil.	
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Messuages and tene- ments called Boyes, in	1 13 4		John Wells.
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Falcot and Toleshunt	2 5 7		
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Knights, in Essex; par- cel of the guild or fra- ternity of S. George, of	1 9 4		
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the parish of S. Mary	2 3 5		
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the Virgin, in Walden,	3 5 8		
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&c.	3 9 7		
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	2 3 4		
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	0 15 8	346 4 10	
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Chauntry of Pense- hurst, in Kent, &c.	8 18 8q.	214 8 6	George Harper, Kt. and Richard Frye.
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Al that messuage or	9 0 0		
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tenement in Chanon-	57 3 4		
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Row, Westminster, be- longing to the college of	5 3 4		
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S. Stephens, and divers	1 15 1		
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other lands, &c.	3 4 5		
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	5 0 0	1477 15 8	
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The free chappel of Tilne, in the parish of Hayton, in Nottinghs.			Thomas and Wm. Swifte.
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&c.	25 3 0	575 1 0	
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The chauntry or free chappel of S. Mary, of	7 3 6q.		William Boxe.
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Witney, Ox. &c.	2 13 4		
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	16 16 8	427 19 9	
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The fraternity or guild of Luton in Bedf. and Hert. and al the			Ranul. Burgh and Rob. Beverley
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guild in Hitchyn, in			p. 91.
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Hertf. and the whole	23 11 9		
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house and mansion,	7 16 11		
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commonly called The	4 0 0		
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Brotherhed House, si- tuate in Hitchyn, &c.	2 2 0		
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	10 16 0	1036 14 4	
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The chauntry of Swynford, in Leic. and	2 17 5		William Parker.
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al the messuage called	2 14 5		
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The Chauntry House,	3 10 4		
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&c.	10 6 8	404 12 0	
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The capital house and scite of the college of Whittington, in the pa-			Armagil Wade.
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Chauntry, College, Hospital, Guild, &c.	Yearly value.	Purchase.	Purchaser.
Parish of S. Michaels Pa- ter Noster, London, &c.	4 6 8	92 2 0	
The chauntry called	22 11 2		John
Barkeley's Chauntry,	7 12 2ob.		Thyune,
founded in the paro- chial church of Meere,	3 0 0		Kt. and
in Wilts, &c.	3 1 0		Laurenc.
	2 2 2		Hyde,
	3 2 0		Gent.
	3 14 10		
	2 12 3		
	77 11 0	2731 8 9ob.	
Manor of Bettiscomb, in the county of Dorset, belonging to the college of S. Stevens, Westm.	28 2 4ob.	661 8 0q.	Richard Randal.
The farm and barton of Eynston, in the pa- rish of Henxstreet, in Somers. belonging to the chauntry of S. Ka- tharins in Ilminster, in the said county, &c.	36 3 11 25 13 4	1297 10 0	Thomas Bell, Kt. and Ric. Duke, Esq.
Five messuages in Be- verly, in the county of York, called The Man- sion Houses, of the late prebendaries of the pre- bends of S. Peter, S. James, S. Stephen, S. Katharine, and S. Mar- tin, founded in the late college of Beverly, and divers, &c.	23 13 1q. 4 1 8	506 9 11	Michael Stan- hope, Kt. and John Bellowe.
The messuage and te- nem. known by the name of Holmes College, in the parish of S. Gregory, Lond. and belonging to the chauntry commonly called Holmes Chauntry	72 4 8 8 2 8	1289 7 6	John Hulson and Wil. Pendred.
Three cottages or te- nem. and three gardens belonging thereunto, in East Kirby, in the coun- ty of Linc. late in the occupation of the chan- terists of the chauntry of East Kirby, &c.	21 15 0	606 9 0ob.	Richard Good- rick and William Breton.

Chauntry, College, Hospital, Guild, &c.	Yearly value.	Purchase.	Purchaser.
Manor of Chedworth, in the county of Glouc. and the scite of the col- lege of Penkrich, in Staff. &c.	9 0 3 1 10 8 1 10 6 3 3 9 2 0 0 38 16 10	1286 5 7	John Earl of Warwic, Richard Forset, & others.
Chauntry of Aston, in Aston, neer Bryming- ham, in Warw. and the house and mansion of the chauntry; and the manor of Yngton, &c.	5 7 7 17 1 8 72 14 8	1522 16 3	Richard Pallady & Fraun. Foxhal.
Chauntry, called Ho- tosts Chauntry, in Or- set, in the county of Es- sex, &c.	3 7 7 2 17 10 1 14 4 18 0 5	532 13 4	Clement Cysley and John Leeds.
Chauntry of S. Mary Magdalen, in Sprouston, in the county of Norf. and divers other lands, &c.	9 0 6 2 19 6	276 0 0	Robert South- wel, Kt. and John Corbet.
The free chappel called Milkhouse Chappel, in the parish of Crane- broke, in Kent, and the whole scite, sept, com- pas and circuit of the said chappel, &c.	3 6 8 3 10 10 78 0 4ob.	262 3 8	John Baker, Kt.
House and scite of the priory of Snelleshal, in Bucks, and al the manor of Harlington, &c.	146 7 9ob.	Partly in ex- change, and partly in fulfil- ling of the will of K. H. VIII.	Thomas Palmer, Kt.
The chauntry called Batemans Chauntry, in Borough, in the county of Camb. and the chaun- try called Jenet Childs, alias the chauntry of S. Mary de Wittham, in Essex.	11 11 0 9 12 5	508 2 0	Gilbert Claydon and Rob. Barker.
The chauntry of S. Anne de la Gon, in Shaf- ton, in Dorset, and the free chappel of Little Mayne, in Dors. and the chauntry of Langton,	2 19 4ob. 4 0 0 3 0 0 3 6 8 1 10 0		Thomas Boxley and Rob. Reve.

Chauntry, College, Hospital, Guild, &c.	Yearly value.	Purchase.	Purchaser.
called Gildon Chauntry, founded in the parochial church of Langton, &c.	7 0 C 0 4 0 2 5 0	569 2 10	
Chauntry of Peping- bury, in Kent, &c.	11 9 <i>0diq.</i>	253 8 0	John Revers.
The church of Bab- lack, in the city of Co- ventry, parcel of the guild of the said city, called Trinity Guild.	Non patet.	Nihil.	The city of Co- ventry.
The free chappel call- ed S. Margarets Chap- pel, in Tadington, Suff. and the chauntry called Depden, in Kent, &c.	14 19 <i>6ob.</i>	342 2 2	John Earl of Oxford, and Tho. Almote.
p. 94. The chauntry called Our Lady Chauntry, in Acton, in Suff. and the manor of Bowerhal, in Essex, belonging to Mills Chauntry, in Mel- ford, in Suff. &c.	19 6 0 6 13 4	486 0 0	Thomas Paston, Kt.
The messuage, tene- ment and inn, called The Helmet, in Kings-street, Westm. and an house of an inkeeper within the said messuage, belong- ing to S. Stephens coll. Westm.	13 0 8 8 3 1 5 5 8 1 6 8	562 5 4	Richard Audeley, and John Rede.
The chauntry of Hat- field Broad Oak, in Es- sex, &c.	5 13 4 1 0 2 0 6 8 0 8 4 31 14 5	821 11 9	Walter Farre, and Rafe Standish.
The chauntry of S. Mary Magdalen, in the parochial church of Cross Thwaite, in Cum- berl. &c.	5 0 0 6 8 11 6 19 2 3 2 <i>8ob.</i> 0 19 6 3 0 0 59 3 1	1696 14 10	Thomas Brende.
The chappel and scite of the chappel of the Assumption of the Bl. Virgin Mary, upon the bridge of the town of Bristol, &c.	1 0 0	51 0 0	The mai- or and commo- nalty of the city of Bris- tol.

Chauntry, College, Hospital, Guild, &c.	Yearly value.	Purchase.	Purchser.
The chauntry of S. Mary, in Alfreton, in the county of Darb. and the scite of the hospital of Castleton, in the said county, and divers other lands, &c.	7 8 8 2 17 0 2 1 0 2 0 0	347 10 0	Thomas Babington.
Farnham chauntry, in Surrey, &c.	21 3 4	407 4 0	John White, and Stev. Kyrton.
The chauntry called Whaplodes, in the pa- rish of Chalfonts S. Pe- ters, in Bucks.	10 17 6	261 0 0	Robert Drury, Kt.
The free chappel of Arley Whiteknights, in Sonnyng, in Berks, &c.	1 13 4 0 10 0 1 3 4 1 16 0 12 18 10	382 7 8	Henry Polsted, and Wm. More.
Three messuages in Totehil-street, Westmin. parcel of the land of the fraternity or guild of S. Mary, founded in the church of S. Margaret, Westm. &c.	31 3 2	674 3 6	William Chester and Christo. Nede- ham.

BOOK II. AA.

p. 95.

Archbishop Cranmers Treatise of Unwritten Verities.

IN the Day of Pentecost, whan the Holy Ghoost descended upon the apostles and discyples of Chryst, they receyved suche grace and goostly knowlege, that they hade forthwith the gyfte of the understandynge of scripiture, to speak in the tonges of al men: and also that upon whomsoever they layde theyr handes the Holy Ghooste should descend upon them. And therupon they by theyr preachyng and good doctryn converted in short tyme great multitudes of people unto the fayth of Christ. And after that, dyvers

MSS.
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Elien.

blessed men in strength of the fayth, wrote the lyfe, miracles, doctryne, passion, death and resurrection of our mayster Chyrst: but four of those writings were only receyved by al the whole church of Chyrst, that is to say, of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. And they receyved them to be of such auctoryty, that it should not be lawful to any man that would confess Chyrst, to deny them. And they were called *The four Gospels of Christ*. And the Epystles of Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles that be called Canonyke, and the Apocalyps, were receyved to be of lyke auctoryty, as the gospels were. And thus by assent as wel of the people as of the clergy, was the New Testament affyrmed to be of such auctoryty as it is now taken to be of, and as it is of indede. So that it is not lawful to deny any thyng that it affirmeth, ne to affirme any thyng that it denyeth. And it is no mervayle though it be taken to be of such strength. For it was auctorysed, whan the people that were newly converted to the fayth were ful of grace and of devotion, replenished with vertues, desyryng al way the lyfe to come, and the helthe of theyr own souls, and of theyr neyghbours.

Than also were blessed bishops, blessed preestes, and other blessed persons of the clargy. And what could such men ask of God ryght wisely, that sholde be denyed them? And who may thynk, but that they and al the people at the said auctorizing of the scripture, prayed devoutly for the assistaunce of the Holy Gost, that they might have grace to auctoryze such as shold be to his honour, to the encrease of his fayth, and to the helth of the souls of al his people?

The *time* also that thys auctoryzing of the New Testament, and the gatheryng it togyder was made, was, as I suppose, the tyme of the moost high and gracyous sheddyng out of the mercy of God into the world, that ever was from the begynnyng of the world unto thys day: and I mean the tyme that was from the incarnation of Christ unto (*i. e.* until) the sayd

auctorysyng of the New Testament was accomplished. For in part of that tyme our Lord was here hymself in bodyly presence, preachyng and teachyng hys laws, gatheryng and chusyng hys apostels and dysciples, that sholde teach and preach hys laws, whan he was gone: which they did not only by word, but also by good examples, that yet remayne unto thys day. So that al that tyme may in maner be called *the golden tyme*. And not only the New Testament was than receyved, but also the Old Testament. And by preachyng and teachyng of these testaments was the faith of Chryst mervaylously increased in many countrees.

p. 96.

After al thys, by a common speakyng among the people, the byshops, preests, and other of the clergy, which were as lanternes unto the people, and the specyal maynteyners of the christen fayth, were called *The Chyrche*, or men of the chyrche: and under the colour of that name *Chyrche*, many of the clergy in proces of tyme pretended, that they might make expositions of scripture, as the universal chyrche of Christ, that is to say, as the hole congregation of christen people, myght. And therupon whan cove-tyse and pryde somewhat encreased in many of the clargy, they expounded very favourably dyvers texts of scripture, that sounded to the mayntenaunce of theyr honour, power, jurisdiction and ryches; and over that, take upon them to affirme, that they were the *chyrche* that myght not erre: and that Christ and his apostells had spoken and taught many thyngs, that were not expresly in scripture, and that the people were as wel bound to love them, and that under lyke payne, as if they had ben expressed in scripture, and called them *Unwritten Verities*. Wherof I shal, as for an example, recyte part.

Fyrst, That Christ after hys *Maundy*, and after he had washen the fete of his apostles, taught them to make holy cream, for ministracion of the sacraments: and that they have as ful auctoryty to do the

same, as yf it had been conteyned in scripture, that Christ had gyven them power to do it.

That it is a tradicion of the apostles, that *ymages* ought to be set up.

That the apostels ordeyned that al faithful people should resort to the chyrch of Rome, as to the most hygh and principal chyrch of al other: and yet it cannot be proved by scripture, ne by any other sufficient auctoryty, that they made any such ordynance.

Also, that the *Creed*, which is commonly and universally used to be sayd by the common people, was made by the twelve apostles: and though the articles therof are firmly and stedfastly to be beleved of every christen man, as artycles sufficiently proved by scripture, yet that they were gathered togyder by the XII apostels. And specially, that every one of the apostels made one artycle, as paynters shew that they did, cannot be proved by scripture; ne is it not necessary to be beleved for our salvation. And though it were but a smal offence in the people to beleve that it were an article necessary to be beleved for our salvation, because the clergy, which be the lanternes and leders unto the people, do instruct them that it is so; and it is nether agaynst the law of God, nor the law of reason, but that it may be so; yet it is a great offence to the clergy, to affyrme for certayn the thyng that is to themself uncertayne. And therefore it would be reformed for eschewyng of offences unto the clergy.

Also, that the people shal pray into the *Est* is not proved by scripture. And yet they say that by the tradicion of the apostles it is to be beleved.

Also, that our Lady was not born in orygynall synne.

That she was assumpte into heven, body and soule.

All these and many others, divers of the clergy cal *Unwrytten Veryties*, left in the world by the tradicion and relacion of the apostles, which, as they say,

the people are bound to beleve as wel as scripture, for they say, that syth no man were bound to beleve scripture, but bycause the chyrch sayth, This is scripture, so they say, that in the thyngs before rehersed, the chyrche wytnesseth them to be true; and that the people have assented to them many yeres: wherfore it is not lawful to doubt at them, ne to denye them. To this reason it may be answered, that yf it can be proved by as good and as hyh auctoryte, that these thyngs were left in the world by the tradition and relacion of the apostles, as the auctorysing of scripture was, that than they are to be beleved as veryly as scripture: but yf they be wytnessed to be so by some byshops and priests, and some other of the clergy only, or that they be wytnessed to be so by decrees and laws made by byshops of Rome, and by the clergy of Rome, or by opinion of doctors onely; than no man is bound to accept them, ne beleve them, as they are bound to beleve scripture. For scripture, as it is sayd before, was auctorysed by the hole chyrche of God, and in the most elect and moost gracious tyme, that of lykelyhode hath ben syth the begynnyng of Christs chyrche. And yf it be sayd that many of the sayd opynions have ben affirmed and approved by general councils, in whom no error may be presumed, it may be answered, that though the chyrch gathered together in the Holy Ghost may not erre in thyngs perteyning to the fayth, that yet forasmuche as some general councils have ben gathered, and not by the power of kyngs and princes, that be heads of the chyrche, and that laws have ben also made at such general councils, of divers thyngs which have not pertayned to the fayth, but to the mayntenance of the auctoryte or profyt of the clergy, or of soch artycles as ar before rehersed, that they cal *Unwrytten Veryties*, which undoubtedly perteyn not merly to the fayth, that it may therfore be lawfully doubted, whether soch councils were gathered in the Holy Ghoost, or not; and whether they erred in their judgments or not.

And it is no doubt, but that in some general councils they have done so indede.

p. 96. And I suppose that there be but few matters more necessary ne more expedyent for kyngs and princes to loke upon, than upon these Unwrytten Verities, and of making of laws by the clergy. For yf they be suffered to mayntayn that there be any verities, which the people are bound to beleve upon payn of dampnacion besyde scripture, it wyl perswade partly an insufficiency in scripture, and therupon myght follow great daungers many wayes. And yf it were admytted, that the clergy myght be receaved to afirme that there be soch verities beside scripture, yet they could not prove them. For if they wold in profe therof say, that the apostles fyrst taught those verities, and that they have so contynued from one to another unto thys day, and shew none other auctoryty therof but that, than al the saying may as lightly be denyed as it was affirmed, and with as hygh auctoryty. And yf they wil ferther attempt to approve it by laws made by the byshops of Rome, and by the clergy at Rome, yea, or by laws and decrees made at general councils; yet these laws and decrees may be lawfully doubted at, as before appeareth. So that they cannot by reasen therof dryve any necessity of belefe into any person.

Wherefore kyngs and prynces, that have receaved of God the hygh power and charge over the people, are bound to prohybyte soch sayings upon great payns; and not to suffre a belefe to be grounded upon thyngs uncertayne.

But yet yf some of the sayd articles, that be called *Unwrytten Verities*, were suffered to contynue as thyngs that be more lyke to be true than otherwyse, and no ncessitie of belefe to be deryved therupon, I suppose verely it myght wel be suffered, that they shuld stand styl, not prohybyte: as it is of that artycle, that the XII apostles made the Crede: that it is good to pray into the *Est*: that our Lady was not born in original sin: that she was assumed

body and soul. And therefore yf it were ordeyned by kyngs and princes, that no man, upon payne to be taken as a breake of the quyetnes of the people, shuld deny any of the sayd articles, it were wel done to kepe unytie among the people. But divers realms may ordre soch thyngs diversely, as they shal seme convenient, after the dysposition of the people ther. For they be but thyngs indyfferent to be beleved, or not beleved, and are nothyng lyke to scripture, to the artycles of the fayth, the X Commaundements, ne to soch other moral lernyngs, as are merely deryved out of scripture. For they must of necessity be beleved and obeyed of every christen man. For after Saynt Paul *ad Ephes.* IIII. there must be one God, one fayth, and one baptisme. But to suffre them to stand as *Unwrytten Veryties*, that may not be denyed, and to have theyr auctoryty onely by laws made by the clergy, it semeth daungerous. For it myght cause many of the clergy to esteme more power in the clergy than ther is indede. And that myght lift many of them into a hygher estimation of themself than they ought to have. Wherby myght follow great daunger unto the people. For as long as there be disorders in the clergy, it wyl be hard to bryng the people to good ordre.

And al this that I have touched before may be reformed without any rebuke to the clergy that now is. For the pretence of soch *Unwrytten Veryties*, ne yet of makynge of laws, to bynd kyngs and princes and theyr people, ne yet that both powers, that is to say, spiritual and temporal, were in the clergy; began not in the clergy that now is, but in theyr predecessours.

And as to the sayd other pretenced *Unwritten Veryties*, that is to say, that al men shuld resort to Rome, as to the most high and principal chyrche: and that it is a tradycion and unwrytten veryty, that ymages ought to be set up; it were wel done, that they and soch other opinions, wherby pryde, covetyse or vain glory myght spring hereafter, were prohybyte

by auctorytie of the parlament upon great paynes. And as to the sayd Unwrytten Verytie, that holy creame shuld be made after the Maundie, it pertyneth onely to them that have auctoritie to judge, whether it be an unwrytten veritie, or not, and to judge also, what is the very auctoritie of makynge of that creame. And therefore I wyl no ferther speke of that matter at thys tyme.

B. B.

*Sir William Paget ambassador with the emperor,
his Letter to the L. Protector.*

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SIR, after my most humble commendations to your grace, albeit ye shal perceiue by our common letters the maner of our proceeding with Mons. D'Arras and his company, whereof we have deferred to advertise your grace, upon trust to have had ere this time answer of the emperors mind in certain points touched in our conference; yet I have thought it my part to render a reason to your grace of the maner of my proceeding, to the intent, if your grace like the same, I may perfect my beginning therein; and if your grace think good otherwise, that then you may inform me of your plesure, which I wil not fail to follow accordingly.

And first, sir, I consider that the chief cause of my coming hither is to deciphre the emperor: which is divided into two branches: the one, for the confirmation of the old treaty; and the other, to bring him with us into war against France: if he wil assent, as I suppose he wil, and we look hourly to know the certainty.

To the confirmation then, may it seem to your grace, that notwithstanding any practice that hath been used to him by any other against you, and notwithstanding the proceedings at home, he mindeth to entertain your friendship. If he assent to the under-

standing of my cause put to them, then is there a more hope of his friendship. If he wil be content also to accept Boloygn into defence upon reason reciproque, then by al likelihood, considering in what doubtfulness Boloign is at present to be assailed, hee wil not stick to enter enimity with France: and also is determined (in my poor opinion, under correction of your grace) to fal out with them in respect of his own affairs, though you should not move the same. But if he wil agree to the first point only, or to the first and second, then, sir, you know whereto to trust at his hands, and must maintain your affairs with France of your selves. And then in this case to move him to joyn with you for invasion against France with an army, and not to come to a lesser point, which is the mean to a greater, I think it shal but discover you too much, and hinder your doings hereafter peradventure with France: and therefore rather to pas it over in silence.

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Now, sir, if, as I said, he assent to the third point, viz. to accept Boloygn into defence, I think also it shal be best not to speak of the common invasion with armies. For I am of opinion, that tho' you bind not yourself to a common invasion, yet wil he the next year invade. And so need not you to do, except you list. And if you wil you may: mary, at liberty. And tho' he do enter into invasion for his own quarrels, or France with him, yet need you not to go further (except your affairs lead you) than the emperor hath and doth now with the Scots. So as I conclude upon this my blind nibbling at the matter, that you need not to have any mention made of common invasion. For you mean not but to bring him in; and this way for the defence of Bolign serveth wel enough for the purpose, without entangling yourself further in the war than you shal wel get out of it again, when you shal be weary of it. Neither, if they here shal move the common invasion, and wil not otherwise to accept

the defence of Boloygn; then rather to joyn in the common invasion, than to let slip the anchor hold.

And thus far, sir, I have shewed your grace my simple opinion in this matter, beseeching your grace, both to take the same in good part, and also to signify to me your pleasure therein, and whether you think it not good for the king, that I move the points to be added to the treaty, viz. That he shall be common enemy (besides the case of invasion) that surprizeth any of the kings and the emperors forts, in any the places comprehended in the treaties on both sides, or that now shal come into comprehension. *Item*, That safe conduct to traffic shal be neither given nor taken, either to your common enemy, or of your own subjection. And your graces pleasure known in these points, I think to make an end of the matter shortly; and they here seem to look for the same.

As for the matter of mariage, seing it hath been broached there, and largely refreshed by us here, I desire also your plesure, if they speak no more of it, whether we shal eftsones enter the same; for a thing I note, that hitherto they have given us leave to move al the overtures in al points, and they only give ear. Which I pray your grace to consider, and to signify your pleasure fully in every thing accordingly. And thus with my most humble commendations to my ladies grace, I pray God send you both long life and good health, and as wel to do as I would mine own self. From Brussels, the last of June, 1549.

WILL. PAGET.

The protectors and councils Answer to Pagets Letters.

AFTER our right herty commendations; we have seen your letters of the 25 of June, the answer wher-

unto being deferred hitherto, we received yesterday your other letters of the last of the same month: and by them both do understand at good length your proceedings hitherto both with the emperor and his council. Wherin like as you have laid a good foundation, and wel entred the matter, so have we no doubt but you wil in likewise procede to the rest, according to your accustomed good wisdom and foresight: and by the answer to be made from the emperor upon this your conference with the council, we think, ye shal se much of his determination, and to what effect this your journey is like to grow. Wherupon we may also be occasioned to write further as shal be then thought good. In the mean time for answer unto such points, as by your further letters to me, the secretary, and sithence by your others you desire to be answered, we have thought good to signify, as followeth:

First, where you would know, whether you shal forbear to enter any treaty of that part of your instructions touching a joynt invasion or enimity against France, til further knowledge of the French proceedings; you shal understand, that from France, notwithstanding our sending, and their former answers (as you know) we never heard any thing til yesterday. And by letters from Mr. Wotton we were advertised, that the French king hath appointed for commissioners on his part Monsr. De Rochepot, Monsr. De Chastillion, and one Monsr. De Mortier, one of the masters of the requests; al three of the council. At the naming of whom, albeit the constable gave our ambassador very good words, yet for that the two chief of these men be officers upon their frontiers, and named by them contrary to the request made on our behalf, we doubt much what shal ensue of this meeting, notwithstanding al their fair words. And yet that notwithstanding we were of opinion, before the receipt of your latter letters, that it should be best for sundry considerations, that

you forbear to speak any thing of this joynt hostility. In which opinion these your letters have more confirmed us. And therefore for that matter we require you to forbear to speak any thing of it. But if the matter shall upon any occasion be set forth by the emperors council, you may give ear unto it: and shewing your selves as of your selves, by some good general words, not unwilling to hear of it. Entertain their talk by such means, and after such sort as you shal think best, to feel and suck out their disposition, and what they desire as much as you may.

p. 102. And touching the comprehension of Bulloign, wherein it seemeth they make some stay, we think good also, you forbear to require the same any more. We need not repeat unto you the charges or dangerous keeping, the smal commodities and many troubles the kings majesty hath with that towne and the members thereunto neer adjoyning. And if at any time after this, upon some reasonable recompence, or for any other just or honorable ground it should like the kings majesty to leave that towne; then should his majesty and the realm be always without any cause burthened with that reciproque, which should be now received into this comprehension for Bulloign. And therefore, and for sundry other causes, we think best you overslip that matter for comprehension.

And where by the former treaty with th'esclerishment joynt hostility is not entred, but only for invasion with 8000 men, we would wish, if they may be brought to assent thereunto, that the covenant be made that the joint enimity shal be for any invasion to be made by public officers or authority with the number of 500 (5000.) And that this joint hostility should be not only for such on invasion, but also for the surprizing of any fort, now in the possession of either of the said princes within any of their countries comprized in the said former treaty.

Touching your desire to know, if they shal agree

to the confirmation of the treaties after such, or like sort as you have proponed, within what time you shal agree, that the confirmation shal be made on both sides: for as much as you know the ratification in that case is to be made on the kings majesties behalf by authority of parliament, which cannot be assembled before Allhallowntide at the neerest, you must of force to take the larger day, and may agree to Candlemas.

As for the names of the countries that shal confirm the said treaty on the emperors behalf, we think that the Low-Countries, named in the former treaty, must ratify it by the same several orders, by which they make laws and ordinances to bind their successors, like as for the king, it is to be don by parliament. But if they shal make strange to have the same so confirmed, you may conclude for the ratification of it by the emperors majesty and the prince only; and that within one month or six weeks after your agrement and conclusion of your treaty.

Touching those questions you require to be answered, what Dote shal be offered with the Lady Mary; we would you had not gon at the first so high, as to offer 100000 crowns, which is the most may be granted; and yet the same to be moderated in respect of the dower that shal be given by the infant of Portugal. And as they shal ofer les or more, so may you, as your self hath already said to them, offer more or less, not exceeding in any case the offer of 100000 crowns. The days of payment may be aggreed upon wel enough hereafter, as the matter shal grow to more ripenes. In the treating and debating wherof you wil, we doubt not, remember unto them, besides many other circumstances, the possibility the Lady Mary standeth in with us; which albeit we trust in God shal never take effect, yet it is nevertheles to be laia as a very great matter, by means she is of reason to be the more honorably provided for. And her dower can-

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not in reason be les than 20000 crowns a year. In this matter of mariage wherin, as you write, you have already largely spoken, if they shal speak no more of it, we would you should likewise pas over the same in silence. For besides that, the Lady Mary, being the woman, is rather to be sued for, than offered, we think that having so much been spoken in that matter as there hath both here and there, it seemeth that they either look to be much sued unto, or do not much like it. And therefore we can be wel contented, that it hath thus been once commoned of, and so leave it as before. Mary, if that matter shal chance to come again in communication, we have thought good that you as of your self did cast forth a word or two shortly touching Boloign, with the members neer adjoyning, to feel their disposition, and how they would like it, if you could obtain it to be released to the emperor with this mariage of my Lady Mary. You know there shal be due for it, and the rest, to the king two millions of gold. And besides that this town might stand the emperor in great sted, to make some bargain for exchange of it with some other town. We mean not this as a matter here resolved to be offered, but for that we would begin to have their minds feeled, what desire the emperor would have to have the same, or how he would harken to it. Which thing we would gladly have closely fished out by as good policy and covert means as you can devise, either upon talk of the matter of this mariage, or upon any other occasion as you shall think best. And yet the matter to be so handled, as they may by no means gather, that this procedeth from hence.

We do al like very wel your motion, that it be added to the former treaty, that where the joynt hostility is or shal be, neither prince shal grant any safe conduct to any common enemy, to traffic in his realm, nor suffer any of his subjects to traffic with any such common enemy. Wherin, and in the other

points before mentioned, you may treat and conclude with them accordingly, &c. So bidding you most heartily farewell; from Richmond, 4 July 1549.

Your assured loving friends,

E Somerset.

R. Ryche, canc.

W. Sent John.

W. Petre, S.

John Bakere.

To our very loving friend, Sir Will.

Paget, comptroller of the kings
majesties most honorable house-
hold, presently ambassador for his
highnes with the emperor.

D D.

*The Lord Privy Seal to the council, concerning the
defeat of the rebels in the West.*

UPON Friday we marched from Exeter to Kirton, seven miles of the way was very cumberous. And on that day went no further. On Saturday we marched towards the camp at Sampford Courtney; and by the way our scouts and the rebels scouts encountred upon the Sunday on a sudden. And in a skirmish between them was one Maunder taken, who was one of the chief captains. Order was given to my Lord Gray and Mr. Herbert, for the winning of time, to take a good part of our army, and with the same to make with al diligence possible towards the said camp, to view and se what service might be don for the invasion therof. They found the enemy strongly encamped, as wel by the seat of the ground, as by the intrench of the same. They kept them play with great ordinance, til more convenient way was made by the pioners: which don, they were assaulted with good courage on the one side with our foot men, and on the other side with the Italian harquebutterers in such sort, as it was not long before they turned their backs, and recovered the town, which they before had fortified for al events. While

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this was doing, and I yet behind with the residue of the army; conducting the carriage, Humfrey Arundel with his whole power came on the backs of our foreward, being thus busied with the assault of the camp. The sudden shew of whom wrought such fear in the hearts of our men, as we wished our power a great deal more, not without good cause. For remedy wherof, the L. Gray was fain to leave Mr. Herbert at the enterprize against the camp, and to retyre to our last horsemen and footmen: whom he caused to turn their faces to the enemy in shew of battail against Arundel. There was nothing for an hour, but shooting of ordinance to and fro. Mr. Herbert in this mean time followed the first attempt, who pressing stil upon them never breathed, til he had driven them to a plain fight. To the chase came forth horsemen and footmen. In the which were slain five or six hundred of the rebels. And among them was slain one Underhil, who had the charge of that camp.

At the retyre of our men I arrived, and because it waxed late, I thought good to loose no time, but appointed Sir Will. Herbert and Mr. Kyngston with their footmen and horsemen, to set on the one side, my L. Gray to set on their face, and I with my company to come on the other side. Upon the sight whereof the rebels stomacks so fel from them, as without any blow they fled. The horsemen followed the chase, and slew to the number of 700, and took a far greater number. Great execution had followed, had not the night came on so fast.

Al this night we sat on horseback; and in the morning we had word that Arundel was fled to Launceston: who immediately began to practise with the townsmen, and the keepers of Grenefield, and other gentlemen, for the murder of them that night. The keepers so much abhorred this cruelty, as they immediately set the gentlemen at large, and gave them their aid, with the help of the town for the apprehension of Arundel: whom with four or

five ringleaders they have imprisoned. I have sent incontinently both Mr. Carews (Sir George and Sir Peter Carow) with a good band to keep the town in a stay. And this morning I hast thither with the rest.

We have taken fifteen pieces of ordinance, some bras and som iron. Of our part there were many hurt, but not passing ten or twelve slain. The Lord Gray and Mr. Herbert have served notably. Every gentleman and captain did ther part so wel, as I wot not wel whom first to commend. I have given order to al the ports, that none of the rebels shal pas that way, &c.

E E.

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The Duke of Somerset, L. Protector, to Sir Philip Hoby, ambassador with the emperor, imparting intelligence of the insurrections.

KNOWING, that al such as be embassadors abroad are desirous not only of news for the love they bear to their country, naturally desiring often to hear of the state of it; but also to confirm or confute such rumours as be spred in the parts where they live; we have thought good to impart, what sith our last letters hath chanced. The Devonshire men, as wel chastised as appeased. Three others of their captains have voluntarily come in, and simply submitted themselves to Sir Tho. Pomery, Wise and Harris: who before were fled and could not be found. And the country cometh in daily to my lord privy seal by hundreds and thousands: to crave their pardon, and to be put in some sure hope of grace. Burry, and some one or two more of their blind guides that escaped from the sword, have attempted in the mean season to stir up Somersetshire, and have gotten them a band or camp. But they are sent after, and we trust by this they have as they deserve.

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The Earl of Warwick lyeth neer to the rebels in Norfolk; which fain now would have grace gladly, so that al might be pardoned. Keate (Ket) and the other archtraitors in the number, upon that is (at) a stay. And they daily shrink so fast away, that there is great hope that they wil leave their captains destitute and alone to receive their worthy reward. The which is the thing we most desire, to spare as much as may be the effusion of bloud, and namely, that of our own nation.

In Yorkshire a commotion was attempted the week last past; but the gentlemen were so soon upon them, and so forward, that it was suppressed, and with weeping eyes the rest upon their knees: they wholly together desired the gentlemen to obtain their pardons. The which the kings majesty hath so granted unto them, as may stand with his highnes honour; so that for the inner parts, thanks be to Almighty God, the case standeth in good point.

The causes and pretences of their uproars and risings are divers and uncertain, and so ful of variety almost in every camp, as they cal them, that it is hard to write, what it is; as ye know is like to be of people without head and rule, and would have that they wot not what. Some cry, pluck down inclosures and parks: some for their commons; others pretend religion; a number would rule and direct things, as gentlemen have don. And indeed al have conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen, and take them al as their enemies. The ruffians among them and soldiers cashiered, which be the chief doers, look for spoil: so that it seems no other thing but a plague and a fury among the vilest and worst sort of men. For except only Devon and Cornwall, and there not past two or three, in al other places not one gentleman or man of reputation, was ever amongst them, but against their wills, and as prisoners. In Norfolk, gentlemen, and al serving men for their sakes, are as illy handled as may be. But this broyl is wel asswaged, and in maner at a point

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shortly to be fully ended with the grace of God, &c.
Thus we bid you right heartily farewell. Aug. 24.

F F.

The Duke of Somerset to Sir Philip Hoby; concerning the suppression of the insurrections in the West, and in Norfolk.

AFTER our right hartly commendations; we have heretofore advertised you of the troublesome busines, uproars and tumults, practised in sundry places of the realm, by a number of leud, seditious, and ill disposed persons, to the great disquietnes both of the kings majesty, and al other his highnes quiet and loving subjects: which tumults and commotions, albeit at the beginning they were spread in many parts of the realm, yet in the end were wel pacified and quieted, saving Devon and Cornwall, and Norfolk; where they continued their rebellion so stubbornly, as the kings majesty was forced to send the kings highnes lieutenant, with a power both ways, the sooner to suppress them and bring them to their duty, viz. My lord privy seal for Devon and Cornwall, and the Earl of Warwick into Norfolk. And like as we have heretofore signified unto you the proceedings of my lord privy seal in his journey, which by his politic and wise handling of the matter, after the slaughter of more than a thousand of the rebels, and execution of some of the ringleaders, he hath, thanks be to God, so honorably atchieved and finished, as not only the country remaineth presently in good order, but also the multitude so repent their former detestable and naughty doings, as they abhor to hear themselves spoken of.

So you shal understand, that in Norfolk, the living God hath so wrought by the wisdom and manlines of my Lord of Warwick, that they also are brought to subjection by such means as insueth. The said

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rebels, having travailed by the space of one month or more, to allure to them such numbers of light persons as they might; and partly by that means, and partly by force and violence, at the last had assembled together a great number, did after encamp themselves neer the city of Norwich: which city they had at their commandment, and therin had placed their victuals and other provisions, wherof they had gotten large furniture. My Lord of Warwick coming to those parts, after he had thorowly understood the state of the rebels, knowing the better part of them to be such simple persons, as were either constrained by force, or otherwise seduced by those of the worser sort, thought best to use such means for subduing of them, as might be with least effusion of blood, and punishment only of the heads and captains; and for this cause travailing first to cut off their victuals, did approach the city of Norwich; which within short time he obtained; and at the getting of it, overthrew a great number of the rebels. By which means he so bridled them, and cut off their victuals, as they were fain to live three days with water for drink, and eat their meat without bread. Wherupon Thursday last, issuing out of their camps into a plain neer adjoyning, they determined to fight, and like mad and desperate men ran upon the sword: where a thousand of them being slain, the rest were content to crave their pardon.

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One Ket, a tanner, being from the beginning a chief doer among them, fled, and the rest of the rebels casting away their weapons and harnes, and asking pardon on their knees with weeping eyes, were by the L. of Warwick dismissed home without hurt, and pardoned, the chief heads, ringleaders and posts excepted. Ket, with three of his brethren, with other three chief captains, al vile persons, were also taken; who now remain in hold, to receive that which they have deserved.

Thus are these vile wretches, that have now of a long time troubled the realm, and as much as in them

lay gon about to destroy and utterly undo the same, come to confusion. So that we trust verily that these traitors, mutiners, and rebellions have now an end, lauded be God, &c. And thus we bid you heartily wel to fare. Sept. 1, 1549.

G G.

Sir William Paget to the Lord Protector ; upon his rough usage of some gentlemen. Writ May 8, 1549.

IF I loved not your grace so deeply in my heart as it cannot be taken out, I could hold my peace as some others do, and say little or nothing: but my love to your grace, and good hope that you take my meaning wel, hath enforced me to signify unto your grace, that unles your grace do more quietly shew your plesure in things wherin ye wil debate with other men, and hear them again graciously say their opinions, when you do require it, that wil ensue wherof I would be right sory, and your grace shal have first cause to repent: that is, that no man shal dare speak to you, what he thinks, though it were never so necessary; for you know it: which in the end wil be dangerous unto you. For mine own self I must confess, or else I were to blaine, that (being) one of the council, you hear me speak very gently and graciously. Mary, I think for the most part I speak as one that have no experience, wherby your grace seldom is moved to follow my advice. But in council, as I am more liberal to speak than others, (which if your grace mislike, and take for a fault, I wil most willingly amend it) so your grace nipps me so sharply sometimes, as if I knew not your conditions wel, and were not assured of your favour, I might many times ere this time, have been blanked for speaking frankly.

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Now then, sir, if other honest men, not so wel

acquainted with your nature as I am, having to do with your grace in the kings majesties affair, and having occasion by your own appointment and wil to say their opinions honestly and sincerely unto you, shal be snapped, God knows what loss you shal have by it. By the living God, if I knew not how much men of service be troubled withal, I would never write this much. Poor Sir Richard Alte this afternoon, after your grace had very sore, and too much more than needed, rebuked him, came to my chamber weeping, and there complaining, as far as became him, of your handling of him, seemed almost out of his wits, and out of heart. Your grace to be sure have put him clean (out of countenance.) I know that like fashion of the king, that dead is, to him, had almost cost him his life. Your grace peradventure thinketh it nothing: but by God, sir, if you would, as I wrot once to you, cal to your remembrance, how that as you speake sometimes to men, saying their opinions contrary to that which you have conceived, if a king or cardinal in times past should have spoken to you, it would have pricked you at the stomach. You shal wel feel that words spoken by the lord protector goeth to a mans heart.

Howsoever it cometh to pas I cannot tel, but of late your grace is grown in great cholerick fashions, when soever you are contraried in that which you have conceived in your head. A king, which shal give men occasion of discourage to say their opinions frankly, receiveth therby great hurt and peril to his realm. But a subject in great authority, as your grace is, using such fashion is like to fal into great danger and peril of his own person, beside that to the commonweal. Which for the very love I bear to your grace, I beseech you, and for Gods sake, consider and weigh wel. And also when the whole council shall move you, or give you advice in a matter, like as they did of late for sending of men to Bulloyn, to follow the same, and to relent some-

times from your own opinion. Your surety shal be the more, and your burden the less.

I trust your grace wil take this letter in good part; for it procedeth from a good heart towards you, as God can judge. To whom I pray daily for the same weldoing to you that I wish to mine own self. And I beseech even now his Divine Majesty to give you his Holy Spirit and grace to do al things to his glory, the kings majesties honor, and your own surety and preservation. From my chamber in the court, &c.

W. P.

H H.

p. 109.

Sir William Paget, now ambassador abroad, to the Lord Protector, upon the breaking out of the rebellion in the West: the letter bearing date July 7, 1549.

SIR, having heard here what men say of your government at home, and knowing partly before my coming forth, and partly sithence how things go there, and in what termes you stand at home, I am put into such perplexities, as I wot not what to do. My heart bleedeth, and mine eyes, by God, distil down with weeping tears at the writing hereof. For I se at hand that coming which I have now feared of good time, the destruction of that goodly yong child, my sovereign lord, the subversion of the noble realm of England, and the ruine of your grace, to whom of long time I have given my heart for the service of the king; and whom I have loved for the honest good nature I have judged in you. I se, I say, this sorrowful sight at hand, unles your grace open your eyes of justice in this yong age of the king: and that out of hand, in al the hasts. If ever you have loved me, (as I believe you have, and do love me) if ever you think I have don your grace any pleasure in times past, or service

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sithence the king's fathers death, pardon me now, and give me leave to write to your grace what I think, and what my conscience binds me to write from hence: where I am in as much care for the proceeding at home, as if I were present with your grace.

Remember, what you promised me in the gallery at Westminster, before the breath was out of the body of the king, that dead is. Remember, what you promised immediately after, devising with me concerning the place which you now occupy, I trust, in the end to good purpose, howsoever things thwart now. And that was to follow mine advice in al your proceedings, more than any other mans. Which promise I wish your grace had kept. For then I am sure things had not gon altogether, as they go now. If your grace remember, I wrot you a letter upon either Christmas Day, or Christmas Even at night. Which letter I would to God you had pleased to have considered, and followed, and to have kept me as men of war used to keep their espyes, til they se the effects of their advertisements; and therupon to have used me accordingly. I was a Cassandra, I told your grace the truth, and was not believed. Wel, now your grace seeth it. What seeth your grace over the kings subjects out of al disciplin, out of obedience, caring neither for protector nor king, and much les for any other mean officer. And what is the cause? Your own lenity, your softnes, your opinion to be good to the poor; the opinion of such as saith to your grace, Oh! sir, there was never man had the hearts of the poor as you have. Oh! the commons pray for you, sir, they say, God save your life. I know your gentle heart right wel, and that your meaning is good and godly, how ever some

too much gentlenes should be an occasion of so great an evil as is now chanced in England by these rebels; and that saving your graces honour, knaves say, as a knave Spanyard coming now very lately out of England, that he saw your grace ride upon a fair goodly horse, but he trembled. Mary, he was so strong and big made, that he caried both your grace and al the kings council with you at once at a burden upon his back: if I may find the gentleman (for I seek him) I may peradventure stop him a tyde.

Wel, sir, things past cannot be undon, and howsoever the success falleth, you meant wel: and therefore you must do now that they may be wel. Consider, I beseech you most humbly with al my heart, that society in a realm doth consist, and is maintained by means of religion and laws. And these two or one wanting, farewell al just society, farewell kings, government, justice, al other vertue. And in cometh commonalty, sensuality, iniquity, and al other kinds of vice and mischief. Look wel, whether you have either law or religion at home, and I fear you shal find neither. The use of the old religion is forbidden by a law, and the use of the new is not yet printed: printed in the stomacs of eleven or twelve parts of the realm, what countenance soever men make outwardly to please them in whom they se the power resteth. Now say for the law; where is it used in England at liberty? Almost no where. The foot taketh upon him the part of the head, and *commyns* (meaning the commons) is become a king; a king appointing conditions and laws to the governors, saying, grant this and that, and we wil go home. Alas! alas! that ever this day should be seen in this time. And would to God, that, at the first stir you had followed the matter hotly, and caused justice to have been ministred in solemn fashion to the terror of others, and then to have granted a pardon. But to have granted pardons out of course (I beseech your grace bear with my zeal) they did ever as mich good to the purpose which you

meant, as the Bishop of Romes pardons were wont to do. Which rather upon hope of a pardon, gave men occasion and courage to sin, than to amend their faults. And so have your pardons given evil men a boldnes to enterprize as they do, and cause them to think you dare not meddle with them, but are glad to please them. Be it right or wrong, they must have it. Victuals they say, wools, cloths, and every other thing is dear. They must have a new price at their pleasure. By and by the commons must be pleased: you must take pity upon the poor mens children, and of the conservation and stay of this realm. And put no more so many irons in the fire at once, as you have had within this twelve month. War with Scotland, with France, tho' it be not so termed: commissions out for this matter; new laws for this, proclamation for another, one in anothers neck so thick, that they be not set by among the people.

p. 111. What a good year, be the inclosures lately made, that these people repine now at? Is victuals and other things so dear in England, and no where else? Is the state wherin they live a new kind of life put into them? If it be so, they have some cause to complain to the king. But victuals and other things be so dear in other realms as they be in England. Which they are indeed and so dear; and that I know and feel here right wel. For I spend twice as much as I did at my last being here; and yet I keep no greater countenance. If they and their fathers before them have lived quietly above these sixty years, pastures being enclosed, the most part of these rufflers have the least cause to complain, the matter being wel weighed. What is the matter then troweth your grace? By my faith, sir, even that which I said to your grace in the gallery at the Tower the next day after the kings first coming there, liberty, liberty. And your grace would have too much gentleness, which might have been avoided, if your grace would have followed my advice. In giving wherof as I have

been somewhat frank with your grace apart, and seen little fruit come of it, so have I been discouraged at your graces hands in open council to say mine opinion, as much as ever man was. But as for that, albeit the matter had grieved me not a little, yet afterwards thinking of this proverb, "A man is boldest where he loveth best," I have passed it over, and could have born much better, if any had seen your grace relent to counsil; I mean not of me alone. For when I give your grace advice in a matter which you shal perceive the rest of the councill to mislike, then take it for folly, and follow it not. But when the whole council shal joyn in a matter, and your grace travail to out-reason them in it, and wrast them by reason of your authority to bow to it; or first shew your opinion in a matter, and then ask theirs; alas! sir, how can this gear do wel? I know in this matter of the commons, every man of the council have misliked your procedings, and wished it otherwise. I know your grace can say, no man shal answer the king for these things, but I. Sir, I fear that if you take not another way betimes in these matters of tumult, neither you nor we shall come to answering. And yet, sir, I believe if any thing chance amiss, wherfore a reckoning shal be asked by the king, (as I trust in God you wil foresee there shal not) that not only your grace shal give the account, which have authority in your hands, but also such as did first consent and accord to give you that authority.

Methinketh, I se your grace now reading of this letter, and conceiving what you think of me for the same. For I know your graces nature as wel as any man living. If you think as I deserve, you think me one of the truest subjects that ever prince had; and ever so I have been. And again, God judg it betwixt you and me, I have ever desired your authority to be set forth, ever been careful of your honor and surety; both for now and for evermore, ever glad to please you, as ever was gentle wife to please her husband, and honest man his master, I

p. 112. wys. My good lord, alas ! be no more gentle, for it hath don hurt ; the more pity. I have never been noysome to you or troublesome, if it hath not been in matters of state, where your honor or good proceedings for the king hath come in place. And that I have don upon a good wil and zele of your wel-doing : and wys whosoever sheweth himself most at your will, none shal be more readier to live and dy with you, than I am. And I believe verily that your grace loveth me. Mary, peradventure you think me very bold with you to write in this fashion. Alas ! sir, pardon me, for my zele and duty to the king, the realm, and your grace, enforceth me, and my conscience also constraineth me, being (unworthy) a counsellor.

I write this to your grace alone, minding not to be more busy in council, because I se you like it not : seing I have commodity otherwise to say to your grace mine opinion. But if your grace shal mislike also my private advertisements of mine opinion, then most humbly I beseech your grace to discharge me of the council, and my conscience shal be satisfied. And then in respect of my love to your grace (which shal never fail) I will fal to prayer only to God for you and your weldoing in al things.

You wil now peradventure say unto me, that I have here made a long declamation, and spoke of many things that I think might be amended, but I say nothing, how. And things being grown into such a dangerous tumult, I write not what I think for mine opinion meet to be don. Yes, sir, that wil I do. First, your grace must remember that saying for the name of a king, and that you must do al things in the name of another. Your grace is, during the kings yong age of imperfection, to do his own things as it were a king, and have his majesties absolute power. Then, sir, for a king, do like a king, in this matter especially. Take a noble courage to you for your proceedings. Wherin take example at other

kings. And you need not seek further for the matter. Go no further than to him which dyed last, of most noble memory, K. Henry VIII. Kept not he his subjects, from the highest to the lowest, in due obedience? And how? By the only maintenance of justice in due course; which now being brought out of course cannot, for any thing I se, be brought to reputation, and to an establishment, but by power or force, which is a grievous hearing, if it might be otherwise. But it is better late than never, and now the sooner best of al. In Germany, when the very like tumult to this began first, it might have been appeased with the loss of twenty men; and after, with the loss of an C. or CC. But it was thought nothing, and might easily be appeased; and also some spiced consciences taking pity of the poor, who indeed knew not what great pity was, nor who were the poor, thought it a sore matter to loose so many of their even christian (country folks,) saying they were simple folk, and wist not what the matter meant, and were of a godly knowledg. And after this sort, and by such womanly pity and fond persuasion, suffered the matter to run so far, as it cost ere it was appeased, they say, a thousand or two thousand mens lives. By St. Mary, better so than mo.

And therfore, Sir, go to, believe me; send for al the council that be remaining unsent abroad. And for because there are a good many of the best absent, cal to your grace to counsil for this matter six of the gravest and most experienced men of the realm, and consult what is best to be don; and follow their advices. And for mine opinion, if the matter be so far spent, as you cannot without your men of war help it, send for your Almain horsemen, who ly at Calais, and may for a time be spared. They be in number little lack of four thousand horsemen, a goodly band as ever I saw for so many. Send for the Lord Ferris, and Sir William Herbert, to bring you as many horsemen as they may bring wel out of Wales, and such as they dare trust. Let the Earl of Shrewsbury bring

the like out of Derbyshire, Salopshire, Stafford, and Nottinghamshire, of his servants, keepers of forests and parks. Send your self for all your trusty servants to come to you. Appoint the king to ly at Winsor, accompanied with al his officers and servants of his household, the pensioners, the men at armes, and the guard; and go your self in person, accompanied with the Almain horsemen, and the said noblemen and their companies, first into Barkshire, commanding al the gentlemen to attend upon your grace by such a day, at such a place, with so many trusty friends and servants as they can make. And appoint the chief justices of England, three or four of them, to resort with commission of Oyer and Terminer, to that good town which shal be next to the place where your grace shal remain, accompanied with certain of the justices of the peace of the same shire. To whom your grace must give commandment to attach him and him, to the number of twenty or thirty, of the rankest knaves of the shire. If they come peaceably to justice, let six be hanged of the ripest of them without redemption, in sundry places of the shire; the rest remain in prison. And if any rich men have been favourers to them in this matter, let the justices take good sureties of his good bearing and appearance in the Star-chamber in the next term, to abide a further order. Let the horsemen ly in such towns and villages as have been most busiest, taking enough for their money; that rebels may feel the smart of their villany. Take the liberty of such towns as have offended into the kings hands: you may restore them again at your plesure afterwards. If your grace send some of the doers away far from their wives, to the North, or Boloign, to be soldiers or pioners, it would do wel. Give them no good words, or make no promise in no wise. And thus from one shire to another make a progres this hot weather, til you have perused al these shires, that have offended sithence their pardons.

By this means shal your grace redub this matter

within the realm, to your great praise, honour, and estimation, in al places abroad. Which, I assure your grace by my fidelity, is by reason hereof touched wonderfully, both here, and in al other places of christendom. Your grace may say, I shal loose the hearts of the people. Of the good people you shal not, and of the evil it maketh no matter. By this means you shal be dread, which hitherto you are not, but of a very few that be honest men. By this means you shal deliver the king an obedient realm: and may in the mean time, during your office, be able for the service of the king to command what you list; and so shal be able to continue it, if you wil meddle no more with private suits, but remit them to ordinary courses. If you reply, Shal I not hear poor mens cases? Why, sir, when you send him to the Chancery, do you not hear him? So I do, saith your grace, with a letter. Yea, mary, sir, but this letter marreth al. For it hath a countenance of your graces favour in the matter. And, sir, where your grace saith, that they be a few that with inclosures, &c. give this account, hold your peace to your self, and at leisure in the winter: * Let them be sent for one by one, and had in confession, and let such of them as be offenders smart for it. Wherby both the kings majesty may have a profit, and the poor men, if that be the sore, be relieved. * Sense imperfect.

Lo! sir, thus have I truly and frankly written to your grace what I think; and believe verily, upon the knowledg of mine own sincerity of conscience, that you wil take it graciously. For I mean truly and lovingly to your grace, God I take to witnes, whom I beseech with al my heart daily to send you wel to do, as ever man had wished to any other, &c.

W. P.

p. 114.

II.

A Letter sent from the Lord Paget, concerning Bulloign, to the Earl of Warwick, then l. great master; the 22d of February, 1549.

MSS. pen.
me.

THESE French men, ye se how lofty they are and haultain in al their procedings with us; and no mer-vail, for so they be of nature, and our estate, (which cannot be hidden unto them) encreaseth their cou- rage not a little. They wil have Bulloin, they say, by fair means, or by foul. They wil no longer be tributaries (as they terme yt.) And here they set furth the power of their king, and of ours as littil, as they list, with such bragging and braving termes and countenances, as yf your lordship had heard and seen Rochepot, ye would have judged hym a man more mete to make of peace a warre than of warre a peace.

Debt they wil recognize none. For they say (though they say untruly) that you have made them spend, and have taken upon the seas of theirs, ten times as much as the debt comyth to. Nevertheles, say they, let us have Bulloine, and wype away al pretences, that you make to us, and aske a reason- able summe, and we wil make you a reasonable aun- swer. Or yf ye wil not, in respect of your masters yong age, acquit his pretence, let us have Bulloin, and we wyl agree with you for yt upon a reasonable summe, and reserve you to your master the *droicts* that he pretendeth, and we to ours his defences for the same; and so to make a peace. And yf ye after- wards demaund nothing of us, we demaund nothing of you. Kepe you within your lymits, which God hath gyven you enclosed with the seas, (saving your Calays, wherunto ye have ben married theis two or three hundred yeres, and therfore God send you joy with it) and we our lymitts upon the land, and we shal lyve togyther in peace. And other bargain than this, we wil not make.

To repete here what reasons we made to enduce

them to reason, that shal not nede, though I for my own part could devise lital. Yet I assure your lordship, with the good help of theis wise men, to whom I am assocate, there was, I beleve, as much said, as wherby they ought to have ben persuaded to agre p. 115. to our requests : but al would not serve.

By the consent of the colleagues, I provoked a private talk betwene Mortier, or Chastillon, and me, or some other of us, apart, thinking therby to have practised sumwhat ; but it would not be. They would in no wise talk apart with any of us ; but we wil have this, and wil have none other. We pray you of a short aunswer, for we wil not tary ; we wil not advertise our master ; for it nedyth not. We know his mynd fully. And yf he had mynded eny thing ells, then we know, no dowbt, but he wold have declared it unto us. And so after some consultation, agreed at the last to tary, tyl we did advertise, and heard out of England again : requiring us to send for any ample and determinate resolution for every thing.

Lo ! sir, thus standeth the case : and what is now to be don, in good faith, I cannot wel tel, and am at my witts end. Their *orguil* is intolerable, their disputations be unreasonable, their conditions to us dishonorable, and, which is worst of al, our estate at home miserable. What then ? Of many evils let us chuse the least. Then first, we must knowledg (which we cannot denye) the evil condition of our estate at home. Which recognisaunce is the first degree to amendment. The next is, to know the cause of the evil ; and that is warre, supposed to be, yf not the only, at the least one of the chiefest amongst many great. How many, how great occasions of mischief, the warre hath engendred to England ! Of yll mony, wherby outward things be dearer. Of conveying out of al kind of our commodities to forrein parts, under pretence of our furniture of men of warre, wherby our inward things be dearer ; of breeding idlenes among the people, great

couraiges, disposition to imagyne and invent novelties, grudgings, devices to amend this and that, and an hundred myscheves more: which make my hart sorry to thynk upon. And these be the frutes of warre. Then yf the disease wil not be taken away, but the causes be taken away, also warre (which is one chief cause) must he taken away. But that shal not be taken away (say the French) but upon this condition, or that condition, as before I have spoken of two. They wil have Bulloin, they say, and quarrels quyte crossed, and gyve you a somme of money, and make peace, leaving to each prince his pretences and defences. But thys, say we, may be the occasion of a new warre another tyme. Demaund, say they, nothing of us no more, then we wil demaund of you; and then that shal be no new occasion.

Wel; what moveth us to stick? Mary, the leaving of Bulloin. Ye do consider, whyther we be hable to kepe yt *maulgre the French*. Rochepot sayth, and braggeth, that their king is not a King John, but a French king, such as hath conquered Rome, and bene feared of the rest; and wil have Bulloin again, (whosoever sayeth nay) and telleth us, how we are in poverty and mutinies at home, beset al about with enemies, having no frinde to socour us; destitute of money to furnish us; and so far in debt as hardly we can find any credytors. Yf yt be not this, then Rochepot lyeth. But yf yt be this, it is good to consider, whither yt be better to let them have Bulloin again, and to have sumwhat for yt, and to lyve in peace, tyl our master come to a more age, leaving to hym some store of mony to revenge hym (yf then he shal think he have cause reasonable,) to have good opportunitie for the stay of the things at home, and to put in good our polycy; or els, for want and insufficiency, to lose Bulloin without any recompence, to lyve in warre without synews; and for lack of good opportunitie to be forced to let things at home unredressed.

Yea, but the pension is a gret matter. Wote you

what the French commissioners say? It is true, (they say) the pension was grawnted, but the tyme is tourned : then was then, and now is now. Yt was grawnted by the French king, that dead is (they say) to the King of England that dead is, and to his successors in the crown of England. The King of France (they say) cannot by hys symple grawnt, without confrmation of parlyament, bind his successors. And so, (say they) the same treaty, where the pensyon is grawnted, doth purport. And when (say they) was yt grawnted? Mary, when your master saw tyme to make his bargain best, though his ministers toke not hede to knytt it surely up by parlyament. And that tyme was, when he had the gages in his hand; viz. our master and themperour at one tyme, and so might make his bargain hymself as he lyst. And we wil use yt as you did, when tyme served you. For we know our estate, and that you are not hable to war with us. With these and such other comparysons the French face us.

Wel then, they wil, yt semyth, pay us no pension; now is it to be considered, whither it be better to forbear our pension, (for they are so good unto us (God yelde it them) as to reserve our pretence) to lose Bulloin, and to have nothing in recompence, and to lyve stil in warre, or els to lose Bulloin, to forbear our pension, to have some recompence, to lyve in peace, &c. and to leave to our master his claim, yf he shal think yt good.

I am sorye I have not here the copy of the treaties of peace made in an. 14. and 15. of our Lord: which was upon the first warres of the king our late master, of most worthy memory. For yf I had, then could I write therof certainly. I pray your lordship in any wyse to cause that to be furthwith looked up; for yt is to purpose. But, as I remember, yt shal appere that then our said master, being left by the king his father marvelous welthy, rich, wel obeyed of his subjects, in peace; furnished with friendship

of Spain, Flaunders, Rome, and Almaine, entred the warrs to recover his right of France. But in conclusion what right gat he? Mary, made a peace, and calculing certain old debts to King Edward, his graundfather, and some to the king his father, agreed with the French king upon a mas of ten hundred thousand crowns, to be payd, as I remember, in yeres, without having any pension, or other thing. Delivered afterward Turwin and Turnaye: having for Turwyn nothing, and for Turnaye (which had cost the keping no smal sommes of mony) six hundred thousand crownes. This being thus, as I take yt to be (praying your lordship to let yt be looked up) the exemple is much to move the peace.

p. 117. Now comparing the times, the estates, and al other circumstances of the kings majesty our master, that now is, to the tyme, estates, and circumstances of the king his father, being in his most flourishing prosperitie, which yt may like you by your wisdome to consider with the rest of the wise heddes there, and to take in good part my good meaning in this matter. Which is not to prejudice your wisdomes, (knowing my self a fool) but to lay before you the fondnes of my imagination. Which yf you find fond in al degrees, lay that under the feet (I pray you) and cover yt with a heap of my good wyl and desire. But that the affairs shuld go wel forward, I could not chuse but open my fantasie: and the rather for that your lordship, and sum others, that be my good lords and frends, have the mayninge of them: beseching God to give you the grace to mayne and conduct them, as I do wish.

If you find any thing in it not fond, use yt as you like. It may please your good lordship to move the rest, that yf ye shal think good to agree upon a somme of mony, then to advertise us in your common letter the most and the least, the maner of the payment in hand, or at dayes. If at any days (which under correction I wish not, though yt be less) than

what dayes and what assurance for the payment.
Item, The lowest point you wil come to for Scotland. And thus with my humble and most hartie commendations, &c.

K K.

The Prayer used at a public Fast for a great dearth.

As yt pleasyth God, so be yt.

OH! eternal, everlasting and righteous God, FoxiiMSS.
 before whose hyghnes we, presentyng us this day accordyng to our dewtyes, and four me of thy word, do confess unto thee owr offences, sinnes and wickednes, which thus have desarved theys thy great plagis and grevous punishments; for neglectyng thy word, and brekyng thy commaundments. And as thou hast commaundyd by Joel thy prophet, to “proclayme a fastyng, to call the congregacion, gatheryng the elders, and inhabyters of the land, unto the house of God, and cry unto hym, sayeing, alas! alas! for thys day. And why? the Lords day is at hand, and comyth as a destroyer from the Almighty. The sede shal perish in the grownd, the graners shal ly wast, the floris shal be broken down. For the corn shal be destroyed.” And bycaus, sayeth Aggeus, “every man runne to his owne, the heavens is forboden to gyve eny dew, the earth is forboden to gyve you encrease. I have callyd for a drowght upon the land and moontayns, upon corn, upon wyne, upon oyl and every thing, that the grownd bryngyth furth, upon men, upon cattel, and upon, al handy labour.” And also, O Lord God, as thou hast sayd by Moses, that yf owr harts deceyve us, thow beyng wroth ageynst us, wouldest “shut up the heavens, that ther be no rayne, and that the land shuld not yeld furth hyr encrease.” And though we have deservyd, as in Ababs tyme Elias prayer prevaylyd, that for the space of three yeris no rayne or dew dyd fal, tyl

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al thyngs was consumyd, as now thys day yt ys cum to pass: yet, O Lord, behold us with the Ninivites, ovr humylyacion befor thy maiestie, apperyng thus this day, to cal on thee for mercy, which with Solomon pray unto thee, “yf that the heaven be shut up, and that there be no rayne, bycause that we have synnyd agynst thee, yet prayeng in this place, and knowledge to thy name, and turne us from our synnes through thy skourging us, then heare thou us in heaven, and be merciful to the synnys of thy sarvants and people, that thow shew us that good way, wherein for to walk, and gyve rayne on the land, thow hast gyven us to enheryt.” Send, O Lord, thy sweet dewes of thy heavenly grace, so to refresh and water the plants of ovr harts, that we so repent, and so optayne thy marcy, as this our general prayer may be acceptyd of thee. And as thow hast promysyd, “wher two or three be gatheryd together in thy name to grawnt their requests,” behold here so many as callyth upon thee in feyth and humylyacion, appealyng to thy marcy; thow canst us not deny to grawnt us ovr requests; lest the ungodly bost against the cause of our religion. They wold deny thy favour unto us oft extendyd, they, seyng now thy work in our petition grawntyng, may with us altogether prayse and worship thee with thanks for this thy marcy. To whom, O God ovr Father, the Son and Holy Ghost, be al prayse and glory, for ever and everlastingly, Amen.

L L.

Bucer to à Lasco, concerning the controversy about wearing the habits.

Amplissimo dno. & colendissimo symmystæ, Joanni à Llasco.

F. Biblioth.
D. Joh. D.
Episc.
Elien.

THE Lord graunt unto us, in these troublesome times of the church, to begin and finish al things, that offences and dangers be not encreased. Amen.

The more diligently I weigh and consider, both

what fruit we may gather by this controversy of vestures, and also what Satan goeth about thereby to work, I would have wished before the Lord, that it never once had been spoken of, but rather that all men of our function had agreeably and stoutly gone forward, and continued in teaching true repentance, the wholesome use of all things, yea, and commending and putting on the apparel of salvation. I see, not in a few, alas! I say, I see marvellous diligence in abolishing Amalec, concerning stones, stocks, vestures, and those things that be without us, when in their deeds and whole life they most stiffly maintain the whole Amalec still. I know also some that help forward this strife, so that in the mean time the chief and most necessary points are less regarded and called upon; that is, of removing sacrilegious persons from spoiling of churches, of providing fit ministers for every parish, of the restoring of discipline again.

As for my part, if I thought ceremonies and vestures were impure of themselves, I would not take upon me in any wise the office of a bishop, till by ordinary authority they were taken away, &c. But to the purpose, I think it not impertinent unto this matter that we all be admonished to take heed of Satans accustomed slights, whereby he leadeth us away from the care of necessary things, to carelessness about those things which may be well let pass, and from the searching out of the true doctrine of Christ, to induce to use those things wherein few can consent alike; and finally by the which he kindleth in divers men a zeal to purge those things which are without us: thereby to neglect our inward deformities. And seeing whatsoever we do in word or deed both privately and publicly, we ought to do it in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, giving thanks by him to God the Father, surely it is our duty no less circumspectly to beware that we neither do, nor leave undone any thing, whereby we have not sure or certain authority out of Gods word touching our.

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actions and matters, domestical and ecclesiastical. It is alway and in all things sin, whatsoever is not of faith of the certain word of God.

But to consider this question in it self. I have according to my gift weighed your reasons ; and yet I can perceive no other, but that the use of al external things, as wel in holy ceremonies as in private matters, ought to be left free to the churches of God. I cal that *free use* wherin godly men use things created of God without any superstition, and to a certain edifying of their faith in Christ. I verily, as I have confessed unto you, and have declared indeed unto our countrymen, had rather that no kind of vesture which the papists used were retained among us. And that both for the more ful detestation of the antichristian priesthood, and also for plainer advouching of christian liberty ; yea, and to be short, for the avoiding of dangerous contentions among the brethren. Tho' notwithstanding I would have the ministers of churches to use sage vesture, and such wherby they might be discerned from other men. But chiefly, I would have al the disciplin of Christ to be in force among us. Yet I cannot be brought by any scriptures, as far as I se hitherto, to deny, that the true ministers of Christs Church may use without superstition, and to a certain edification of faith in Christ, any of those vestures, which the antichristians abused. For what should let, but that the churches may use that *white vesture*, or more vestures, to admonish us precisely of that divine benefit, which he by the holy ministry of the church dealeth unto us : the benefit, I say, of the light and dignity of that heavenly doctrin ; and by the which also the ministers themselves may be the more mindful of their office, and had, both for it, and by the admonishment of that outward token, in greater reverence of the common people of the church ? Whether we wil or no, we are compelled to confes, that the ensignes of them that bear public offices help somewhat to retain and en-

crease the authority of magistrates and public powers, if other things want not, by the which the true reverence is given unto them. For if these things be not joyned with *ensignes*, they induce not a veneration, but rather the singular detestation of them, who unworthily use these notes of vertue. *Ensignes* indeed are signes and not the things: yet how much they are able to admonish and move the mind, God p. 120. giving the encrease, he that observeth wil wonder.

Wherefore, wheras otherwise the true dignity of ministers is evident, and if any particular church by public judgment do consent upon the retaining of certain vestures, only for the commending unto us of the gifts of God, which he giveth by the ministry of the church; and for to put the yonger and ruder sort in mind without al superstition, truly I cannot se, why such use of vestures in such a church may not serve to some commendation of the holy ministry, and so consequently to the edification of faith. For what let is there, but that at this day they which are endued with the same spirit of faith, may use a few signes as godly, as the antient holy men have used many. They had, you wil say, expres writing concerning the use of their signes. I grant; and indeed it made much touching the true use of their signes. But in that God did command the use of those and many other things, we certainly know, that the use of those signes may serve, he giving grace, to promote true religion; and that it hath none uncleannes in it self or superstition, neither can be by the abuse of the wicked so polluted, that it cannot be healthful to godly men, using it godly. Now when as God by his word hath sanctified al things by our prayers, and hath made al things pure to the pure, what cause can we allege out of the word of God to deny, that God wil not bless such use of signes wherof we speak, that it should not be effectuous to that church, to some commendation of the ministry, and therof also to some edification of faith? For how can it be, but that he which promised to bles

al the work of our hands, which we take in his name, wil deny his blessing to these signes, seing he hath no where forbidden such an use of them as we have expounded, and hath made us lords of his Sabboth, and al other things of this world?

But if we grant that these things which I have spoken concerning the use of such signes, may be, it is certainly the part of brotherly charity, commanded as by God, to leave such use of such signes in such a church, free to the judgment and conscience of that congregation; except we se an open abuse either of superstition, as if these things were used as containing in them some part of godly worship of themselves; or of contention, as if they displeased the greater and better part of the church; or of getting of good wil of some men, whom in these things we ought not to gratify, because they therby go about to bring a servitude unworthy for christian men.

It is evident at S. Pauls time by the most clear scriptures of God, that the use of days, meats, and al other particular things were made free. And it was a sure token of infirmity in faith to doubt therof. Yet the Holy Ghost pronounceth, that such weaklings ought to be received, not to the troubling of their cogitations, and not to be contemned of the stronger in faith. And that in these things it might be granted to every one to be sure of his own sense, seeing that the Lord hath received these weaklings. Now if the Holy Ghost would have men to yield so much to them which were in a manifest error, in as much as they depended upon him in the chiefest and necessary parts of sincere religion, what ought to be granted to these concerning the free use of external things, which we cannot convict of any error by Gods word: for howsoever I expend and examine those your two arguments, (that is, They are the imitation of the *aaronical* priesthood, and the marks of *antichrists* priesthood, and therefore ought to be eschued of them that love Christ) yet that thing

which you would, is not hereby excluded. For to imitate *Aarons* ceremonies is not of it self vitious, but only then when men use them as necessary to salvation or to signify that Christ is yet for to come, to take flesh upon him. For if by no means it be lawful to use those things which were of *Aarons* priesthood, or of the gentils, then is it not lawful for us to have churches, nor holydays. For there is no expres commandment by word. It is gathered notwithstanding from the example of the old people, that they are profitable for us to the encrease of godlines.

Which thing also experience proveth. For any thing to be a note of antichrist, is not in the nature of any creature in it self (for to that end nothing was made of God) but it hangeth altogether of consenting to antichrists religion, and the professing therof. The which consent and profession being changed into the consent and profession of christianity, there can stick in the things themselves no note or mark of antichrists religion. The use of bells was a mark of antichristianity in our churches, when the people by them was called to masses, and when they were rung against tempests; now they are a token of christianity, when the people by them are gathered together to the gospel of Christ, and other holy actions. Why may it not then be, that the self same garments may serve godly with godly men, that were of wicked signification with the ungodly? Truly I know very many ministers of Christ, most godly men, who have used godly these vestures, and at this day do yet use them. So that I dare not for this cause ascribe unto them any fault at al, much les so hainous a fault of communicating with antichrist. For the which fault we may utterly refuse to communicate with them in Christ. The priests of devils did celebrate in their sacrifices the distribution of bread and the cup, as Justinus Martyr and Tertullian make mention. What let is there why we may not use the same ceremonies

also? You wil say, We have a commandment of the Lord touching this ceremony. Very wel: and by the self same it appeareth, 'same thing to serve among the children of God to the service of Christ, which the wicked abused in the service of devils, if the commandment of Christ be added therto. But it is the commandment of Christ that in our holy actions we institute and use al things, so as comelines and order be observed, that faith may be edified.

Now if any church judge and have experience, (such as I doubt not there are many this day in Germany) that the use of such vesture bringeth some commendation to the holy ministration; and therby helpeth somewhat in the way of comelines and order to the encrease of faith; what I pray you can be brought out of the scriptures, why that church is not to be left to her own judgment in this matter, neither therfore to be contemned, or to be called into question for her judgment sake? That church verily wil keep in these things a mean agreeable so the cros of Christ, and wil diligently attend, that no abuse creep into it. If therfore you wil not admit such liberty and use of vesture to this pure and holy church, because they have no commandment of the Lord, nor no example of it, I do not se how you can grant to any church, that it may celebrate the Lords Supper in the morning, and in an open church especially consecrate to the Lord; that the sacrament may be distributed to men kneeling or standing, yea, to women as wel as to men. For we have received of these things neither commandment of the Lord, nor any example; yea, rather the Lord gave a contrary example. For in the evening, and in a private house, he did make his supper, and distribute the sacrament, and that to men only, and sitting at the table.

But it wil be objected, that in England many use vestures with manifest superstition, and that they do nourish and confirm in the people superstition. Even so, it may be answered, very many abuse al this whole

sacrament, as also baptism, and al other ceremonies. Therefore let us withstand this mischief, and vanish it utterly. Wherunto, tho' it may be that the taking away of vestures may help something, yet to drive away al this mischief it wil not suffice. Nay, the priests themselves must be first removed, and in their rooms placed faithful ministers in the kingdom of Christ, such as be learned indeed, and godly affected. To this therefore, to this I say, must we chiefly endeavour our selves, that the hearts of the people may be purged by faith. Which faith is first encreased by the hearing of the word of God. This hearing is brought by the preachers of the gospel.

Such therefore let us pray for. And that there may be store of them, let us be earnest in our reformation. Let there be a visitation of the universities, whence many fit ministers for churches may be gotten. Let us never cease to cry out against that sacrilege, that the fattest benefices are granted to unworthy men, in respect of their worldly service; that the parishes are so miserably undon through *papistical* slights and violence. These, these, I say, are certain *papistical* facts. Against these ought we chiefly to bend our force: but to be stout and earnest against stones, stocks, vestures, and such other things, which of themselves neither bring gain, plesure nor honor, it is a very easy matter to the hearer and speaker especially those that be discharged from *papistical* superstition. For by the shaking off such things, great mens stomachs are not offended. But to remove church robbers from the spoils of churches, and to do al things possible to this end and purpose, that every parish may be provided of convenient ministers, and that curats may have sufficient for their sustentation, and to aid them to the ful restitution of Christs disciplin; this is a thing of great moment. This is a hard thing to al them which are not able to say with S. Paul, "For Christ is to me life, and death is to me advantage." And again, "God forbid that I should rejoyce, saving

in the cros of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherin the world is crucified to me, and I to the world."

p. 123 It pleaseth me right wel that al antichrists trash should be removed as far as might be. I mean not only his ensignes and marks, but al his steps and shadows, in what thing soever they seem to stand, whether it be in stocks, stones, garments, or whatsoever other thing else it be. But let us endeavour our selves to banish first the body and substance of antichrist; and then after, his ensignes, steps and shadows. The body and substance of antichrist consisteth in the wicked destroyers and spoilers of churches. By whose means not only Christs disciplin, but also the whole doctrin is opprest, and put out of place.

When I consider these things, and again look back, as I ought to do, towards the precepts of the Lord, and his examples, I wish with al my heart, that as many of us that wil be Christs followers indeed, even so we earnestly go about to restore his kingdom, as the Lord himself went about to begin it, and that we seek it before al other things; and let the preachers in al doctrin and disciplin instruct the people, and be such, who, for our Lord Christs sake, and the preaching of the gospel, wil be ready to leave al; and that by these mens ministry we bring the people to the kingdom of Christ. And let us appoint to every flock thereof faithful shepherds, who may labour no les to cal again the true notes and marks of christianity, as to abolish utterly the marks and notes of antichristianity. Which I would so abolished, that there remained not so much as the memory of them in any mens hearts. But seing that these things cannot be brought to pas without Christs kingdom be fully received, I would wish that al we should to that end bestow al our strength unto the which work. Forasmuch as we need many work-fellows, I would wish, with al such as truly love the Lord Jesus, that we set apart all dissension, and joyn in one perfect concord, to endeavour ourselves to set upon the common adversary.

We se now, being taught by the experience of so many years, that the Lord granteth but to a few to depart from that sentence which they have once fastened themselves in; especially if they have also contended for the same. So that we shal be enforced either to dissolve christian communion with many whom the Lord hath received, or else we must give place one to another: to the intent that either of them may rest in their own judgment, tho the other dissent. It is a very hard thing indeed, yea to most holy men, to deny themselves; and he is seldome found among men, which would not be content rather to yield in his patrimony, than in the opinion of his wit. Now then, when as we see Almighty God bear this our infirmity in us so mercifully, fy on the hardness of our hearts, if the example of our Lord and God cannot encline and mollify our hearts to the like mercy and patience.

Wherefore I conclude that we ought to take great diligent heed, first, that we take not upon us straight-way to determine al questions as they rise: yea, let us stir none at al, which throughly tend not to the kingdom of Christ. Let us acknowledg the weaknes of our wit and judgment; let us stand in fear of our natural arrogancy, and our peevish self wil in our own inventions. Al things necessary unto salvation are set unto us openly, clearly and plenteously in the holy scriptures; and in the study and perfection therof every one of us wanteth very much. Let us labour then to fulfill, and once to make up our imperfections with godly studies. Of al other matters let us dispute most warily, let us define most slowly or never, let us contend at no time. If at any time through craft of Satan, or our own negligence, variance shal rise in these things, let us betimes leave off from the same, as soon as we can, by whatsoever way p. 124. we may; or els let us make some truce in them. Seldome is there any victory obtained, yea, never whole victory gotten.

Hereby, most godly sir, you se undoubtedly what

is best to be don, both in this controversy of vestures, as also of the liberty of other ceremonies. I had rather than much goods this question had never been moved. But now seing it is moved, I wish it to be given over, and deferred to some other time. These your two arguments. "It is a piece of Aarons priesthood, and therefore contumelious towards Christ now exhibited, as then glorious when he was to be exhibited." Secondly, "These are notes of antichristianity, and therefore not to be used of men given to christianity." These reasons, I say, conclude not, in my judgment, that which you took in hand. For we borrow many things godly from the order of Aaron's priesthood to the glory of Christ now exhibited. So many things which the antichrists have made marks of their impiety, may be made tokens of the kingdom of Christ; as the signes of bread and wine, the water of baptism, the laying on of the hands, preachings, churches, holy days, and many other things. Also these places of scripture are of great scope, "The earth and the fulnes therof is of the Lord;" not of the devil, not of antichrist, not of the wicked, not against the Son of Man, Lord of his Sabbath. And, "The Sabbath is made for man and not man for the Sabbath." And, "Al things are pure to the pure." And, "Every creature of God is good," nor can be defiled by good men, by the abuse of evil men. The word of God must be followed in al respects, as wel in our private actions as public. For al things are to be don in the name of the Lord Jesus, and to the glory of God. Then such liberty as we grant to our selves in our private use of external things, let us not deny in public. The true spirit of Christ going about to overthrow antichrist, overthroweth first those things which are chief and peculiar unto him. For first the spirit of Christ endeavouring the restitution of Christ's kingdom, restoreth first doctrin and disciplin, which be the chief and peculiar points of Christs kingdom.

This colourable craft of Satan also must be taken heed of, by the which he bringeth to pas oftentimes, that either we reckon those things sins which are no sins, and those that be sins indeed, we seem not to regard them in our selves; or els, against those sins which our conscience defines to be sins indeed, we use no such severity as we ought.

The Lord grant that you, right worshipful friend, may religiously weigh these things. I know you seek the glory of Christ, and I have heard of you, wherin I rejoyce, that you are careful of your judgment, so that you dare not straightway reckon the same for sure and certain, tho' you seem to follow plainly the word of God, thinking with your self that you are a man, and that you may slide out of the way. Therefore I desire and beseech you by the cross of the Son of God, by the salvation of the churches, which are at this day overwhelmed with calamities, by the desired consent that we should seek to reign in al churches, by the peace that is in Christ Jesus: again, I desire and beseech you, that you do nothing rashly in this question of *ceremonies*. You have seen weak members in the churches of Saxony; you have seen also many things, for the which you give God thanks. Let no man therfore, except it be upon great necessity, cast off those whom the Lord hath so notably taken to him. O! would to God the state of the churches of France, Italy, Poland, were brought to this point. Let us in this realm take godly heed, that we suffer not unawares the devils intent: who throweth in among us sundry questions and controversies; lest we should take in hand to hinder the question of setting forward the doctrin of the gospel, and restoring of disciplin: and therby to remove al drones from ecclesiastical and scholastical ministries; this Satan, when he cannot retain the order of bishops wholly in service unto him, he goeth about utterly to abolish this order; and by that occasion so to spoil the churches, that while due stipends

want, the holy ministry may be committed to the vilest of the rascal people.

Let us take heed of these cogitations of Satan, and let us withstand them as much as we can, by the power of the Lord; and by no means unadvisedly to help them forward. For we are, who sincerely profess the Lord Jesus; and none of us there is, which is not opprest with much infirmity. Therefore let us receive one another as the Lord hath received us. Let us yield mutually one to another, as the Lord hath yielded to us. Which sincere and dutiful love, if it bear stroke among us, we shal be able with one spirit and one mouth, and with our whole might to discomfit the body and substance of antichrist. And so afterward without any offence of the good, and with certain edification of faith among the children of God, we may bring to pas the utter defacing of al the marks, steps and shadows of antichrist.

Oh! Lord Jesu, thou our only peacemaker, as wel with the Father, as between our selves, banish out of our minds whatsoever draweth us insunder, whatsoever darkneth the clearnes of judgment among our selves, whatsoever by any way hindreth the absolute concord in thy ministers, in defence of thy kingdom, and in destroying the tyranny of antichrist. Pour into our minds thy Holy Ghost, which may lead us into al truth: who grant us to se and take in hand al one thing; but first of al that which is chiefest. Wherby the strength of thy kingdom may be restored unto us, and al things pertaining to antichrist may clearly be blotted out of al mens hearts and memories. The goodnes and love of the Son of God, for his infinite love sake towards us, vouchsafe to give us these things, to the glory of his name, to the salvation of the elect, and that the wicked say not stil, Where is their Christ? Amen.

Deditissimus tibi in Domino,

MARTINUS BUCERUS.

M M.

p. 126.

Hoper to Martin Bucer, for his judgment concerning wearing the habits.

To Mr. Martin Bucer, D.D. his worthy reader, and master most reverend, grace and peace from the Lord, &c.

FOR what cause I am now in trouble, most reverend, ye shal understand by this messenger in writing. I pray you that you would vouchsafe once to give it the reading. And if that you shal espy any error therin, I desire you to signify it unto me by your letters. If any thing hath been uttered too darkly, and with fewer words than the cause requireth, I pray you that you would set it out in the margin with more light and apter words. If ye se the cause just and meet for a godly minister, subscribe therunto in the end, I heartily pray you.

E Biblioth.
Joh. D. Ep.
Elien.

I send you al that I have written before, three years ago, upon the Ten Precepts: that your worthines may know what my judgment is in the case of *divorse*. I pray you, vouchsafe to read it, that if I have erred in this part by humane oversight, I may be advertised by your learning and fatherly admonition, that I may reform the same. I pray your fatherhood therefore, and I doubt not but I shall soon obtain, that you would help the church in her conflict by the great and most notable gifts of God undoubtedly bestowed upon you. I require the same of Mr. Doctor (Peter) Martyr. To whom, after your sentence and prudent judgment is known, this messenger which I send, shal repair. The Lord Jesus long preserve your worthines. At London, the 17 Octob. 1550.

Yours in heart and prayer al whole,

JOHN HOPER.

N N.

Martin Bucer to John Hoper, in answer to the foregoing letter.

Ubi supra. GRACE and peace from the Lord. Reverend sir, I have diligently perused over your letters and writings concerning *apparel*. And verily this controversy which so grievously hindreth your ministry and other, maketh me exceeding sorry. I could have wished to have given a great deal, that either it had not been moved at al, or els that it were speedily removed and taken away. For by these lets and stays, Satan prolongeth his ful banishment from among the people of God. How much I desire, good sir, to have al things reduced as wel to the apostolic simplicity in external things, as also to the ful and perfect religion of advancing Gods glory, not only in matters internal, but also external, I trust, you doubt nothing at al. For whersoever the congregations have heard me speak, as at Argentine, Ulma, Augusta, Casella, and many other places, I never procured to have a special kind of apparel in the administration of the sacraments. And that abuse which I se of these garments remaining stil in England in many places (the more pity) I would gladly suffer some great torment in my flesh that they were wel taken away, not only with al the marks and badges of antichrists profession, but also with al the sinews and peculiar detriments which as yet in most horrible sort bear sway every where in England. For church robbers do stil hold and spoil the chief parish churches, and commonly one man hath four, or six, or more of them. And it is reported, that there are many which bestow two or three benefices upon their stewards or huntsmen: and yet on that condition, that they may reserve a good portion of the ecclesiastical profits unto themselves alone; and cause vicars to serve the cures, such as they may hire best cheap, not such as are most fit for that office. Both the

universities, out of which meet persons ought to be taken, are miserably troubled by many, which either are papists or epicures.

Hereof it is that there are so few gospellers, that ye shal have many churches which in five, six, or more years, have heard no godly sermon. Al divine service is so coldly, disorderly, and blindly uttered of the counterfeite parish priests or vicars, that it is as wel understood of the people, as if it were read in the Afric or Indian tongue. *Baptism* is ministred in the presence of a few light women, that have more mind of dallying. When *mariages* are solemnized, they prattle and play. The *Lords supper* in many places celebrated as a mas, from which the people know not that it any thing differeth, but that it is used in the mother tongue: and some one hired for money receiveth the sacraments. As for Christs flock there is no due regard of it. They make no conference of the *catechism* with the ignorant sort. There is no public nor private admonition given to them which be slack in their duty, or otherwise offend: wherby the grievous offenders might be bound to repentance; and they which have don penance might be absolved: and they which stubbornly despise the congregation, might be accounted for infidels. How many of them knoweth that God hath so commanded? They which have made no confession of their faith either in word or deed before the congregation, are admitted to al things belonging to Christ. They come with empty hands before the face of God into the holy congregation. There is no due regard of the poor. The church hath no patrimony. The churches are common for undgodly tales and bargains; and at service time the most part are trifling, or occupied with worldly affairs. The law of the H. Ghost concerning apparel set forth by Paul and Peter, that our women (much rather men) should be attired with comely apparel, with shamefastness and modesty, not with broydred hair, gold, pearls, &c. p. 122.

Christ crucified is preached, and the communion ministred. So where the *disciplin* is neglected, yea rather it is unknown what the church is, what the communion of saints is, what the kingdom of Christ is; it cometh to pas that al fear of God falleth out of the hearts of men. Hereof arise so many complaints of perjuries, of adulteries, of thefts, of lyes, of divers and most impudent deceits, and of usuries most monstrous.

These mischiefs which I have rehersed we do know, reverend sir, that they are the chief members of antichrist, his bones, flesh, and sinews, wherof he altogether consisteth. Which if we with mutual force, with common and continual travail, and with the aid of the H. Ghost do seek to overthrow, the abuse of apparel, and of al other things wil be utterly abandoned, and al the badges and shadows of antichrist would vanish away. But if these principal members of antichrist, his substance and whole body be not cut off, and the kingdom of Christ thorowly established, by restoring the pure doctrin, and diligent disciplin, by faithful and meet ministers of Christ; in vain shal we labour to put the marks and shadows of antichrist to flight.

My desire therefore is, good sir, that we following Christ our Saviour, and his disciples, labour above al things that faithful and meet pastors of the Lords flock may speedily be appointed to every parish, as neer as may be; that al church robbers be deprived, and that the people being instructed in Christ, the whole participation and disciplin of Christ may be restored; even as is described, Matt. 18. Joh. 20. Act. 2. 4, 5, 20. Rom. 12. 1 Cor. 12. Eph. 4. 1 Tim. 5. and in such like places. Neither would I have any ceremony either retained or newly ordained, unles it might be thought by the better part of the congregation to further the holy and worthy comelines and order of those that glory in the cros of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the true edification of faith. And if any of the churches would

give ear to me, surely they should retain none of these garments which the papists have used in their superstitious service. But this would I have for these causes, that they might thereby more plainly confesse and declare, both that they had renounced all fellowship with the Romish antichrist, and also surely acknowledge the liberty of external things; and that herein they are occupied to restore those things, especially wherein the disciplin of Christ doth chiefly consist, and which are commanded us by God. For these causes, I say, and also lest any occasion of strife should remain among the weaker, either for these things, or such like; and upon condition beside, that all those things which are any part of the disciplin and participation of Christ be received together, I could wish those garments wherof we speak to be utterly removed.

But to say, that these garments are so defiled by the abuse of antichrist, that no church may use them, albeit how much soever some one of them worship their Saviour Christ, and know the liberty of all things, I dare not be so bold; neither do I see any piece of scripture, whereby I may defend this condemning of the good creature of God. For the scripture in all places saith, that every creature of God is good unto the good, that is, to those which truly believe in Christ, and use his creatures godly: and that it is good not only in respect of these effects which we call natural, as bread is good for his operation of feeding and strengthening the body, and wine for his effect of drinking and heating: but also they are good in respect of sundry significations and admonitions. For godly men stir up to themselves, and continue the memory and consideration of many of Gods benefits, by occasion of all things, as they are Gods creatures. Wherof come these things which are in the psalms and songs of the saints touching the praise and celebration of God, wherunto they allure all the works of God. p. 129.

That any ceremony is wickedly *Aaronical* or *anti-*

christian, standeth not in any creature of God, in any garment, in any figure, in any colour, or any work of God, but in the mind and profession of those which abuse Gods good creatures to wicked significations. For what scripture doth teach that the devil or wicked men have the power, that by their abusing they can make any good creature of God, and such a one as is good (to signify and admonish simply) evil and wicked? Wherefore nothing can be truly said to appertain to the priesthood of Aaron, as touching that it is abolished, (for neither the holy ministry of the church, which is taught us by the precepts of the priesthood of Aaron, is yet abolished) but for that it is used with that superstition, as tho' it were so necessary unto salvation, now that Christ is reveled; or that it were profitable of it self; or that therby occasion might be given to any man to take this superstition to himself, either to retain it, or to trouble the unity of the brethren. So then it cannot be called a ceremony of antichrist, unles some profession or participation of antichrist therby be shewed, or that serve for such profession or participation.

Now who can deny, that the Lord granteth to many of his elect, to take unto themselves only significations and admonitions out of al things, (beside the natural use of them) both of the benefits of God, and also of their own duties, but not of any evil thing? And so they should detest from the bottome of their hearts al things which are contrary unto Christ, that no occasion at al may be given unto them by any thing, howsoever other men have abused it, of any superstition or fellowship with darkness, either disturbing of brotherly love. Now if such true christians, (of whom there soon would be great plenty every where, if that with the pure doctrin of Christ, his whole communion and disciplin did flourish in their churches) did think it would help somewhat to the setting forth of the holy ministry among simple men and children, that ministers

should wear some special kind of apparel in their ministration ; (yea, and that which the papists have abused) truly I see not scripture teach the contrary, why I should not leave such christians to their now judgment. And why I ought so to do, I doubt not but it is clearly taught Rom. 14 1 Cor. 8 and 9. And also in many other places we are taught concerning the liberty and the good use of creatures, not of meats only, but also of al other things.

It is certain also that our Lord Jesus Christ prescribed unto us in his words the substance only of the holy ministry of his word and sacraments, and to have granted to the churches the ordinance of al other things, which belong to the comely and profitable administration of the sacraments. Wherupon we neither celebrate the holy supper at evening, neither in a private house, neither sitting, nor with men only. Some reckon among these things, which freely are left to the ordinance of the churches, to minister the communion once a year only, thrice or four times, or oftner, and to stand at it, neither to be partaker of the sacraments. But sure it is, that both of them are plaine papistical. It is certain that the apostles, and the congregations of the apostles, ministred the Lords Supper after the institution of Christ, every Sabbath day, and as often as the brethren assembled in greater mesures together, and al that were present were partakers, according to the word of the Lord, *Drink ye al of this*. Wherby it is plain enough, that he would have al eat of the offered bread. Now in every holy assembly of brethren, we ought to celebrate the *memory* of the Lord ; for which the Lord also ordained his supper, and so was continued by the apostles we are sufficiently taught, Acts, 4. and 1 Cor. 11. Then these two things, to celebrate the Lords Supper so seldom, and so few to receive it, I judge to be simply papistical. For they disagree with the word of God.

As for these things touching the *place*, the *time*,

the *apparel*, to minister or receive the holy communion, of admitting women to the Lords table, of the maner of prayers and hymnes unto God; so also of apparel, and other things pertaining to outward comelines, I doubt not but the Lord gave free liberty to his churches to appoint and ordain in these things that which every church shal judge most available for the people, to maintain and encrease the reverence towards al the divine service of God. If then any churches, by this liberty of Christ, would have their ministers wear some special apparel in their holy ministry to this end of edifying the flock of Christ; setting apart al superstition, al lightnes, and al dissension among brethren, that is, al abuse; I se not who can condemn such churches for this matter, of any sin: no, nor of any fellowship with antichrist. What if some church, by the pure and holy consent of themselves, should have that custome, that every one should wear a white garment at the holy communion, as they sometimes did which newly were baptized? For if any wil strive that this liberty is to be granted to no church of Christ, he must needs confes one of these; either that nothing is to be permitted to the churches, to be ordained about the Lords Supper, wherof I have no expres commandment of Christ, (wherby al churches shal be condemned of ungodly boldnes. For al do observe both time and place, and gesture of body, in the ministration of the holy supper, and they admit women to the communion. Of al which things they not only have no commandment of the Lord, but also a contrary example. For the Lord held his supper in the evening, not in the morning; in a private house, not in a public; sitting down with his disciples and receiving the pascal lamb, not standing, and shewing this only communion of himself. Moreover the women were excluded, which yet were accounted most devout and holy among his disciples.) Or els it cannot be that there should be churches, which the Lord so far forth delivereth

from al superstition and abuse of his good creatures, that to the clean al the creatures of God are good, and in use of signification clean by true faith in his name, (which whoso saith, he truly therby shal deny Christ our Lord to be the same unto al men, which he promised to become, namely, a deliverer from al sin, and a purger from al uncleannes) or that the wicked by their abuse may so pollute the creatures of God, which of themselves are good, that they can serve no godly man to a godly use. Which is plainly contrary to the testimonies of the Holy Ghost, Rom. 14. 1 Cor. 8. and 9. 1 Tim. 4. Or else truly it is not lawful for christians to entreat of every thing, both to warn them of their creator, and knowledg of themselves, and of his benefits towards us, and our duties towards him. Which is contrary to that the Holy Ghost in al places teacheth, of the acknowledging and worshipping of God in al his works, and doing al things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to the glory of the Father. p. 131.

Al these absurdities must godly minds eschew. Neither is that evil to be feared, which was wont to be objected; if so great a liberty be granted to the church, that they may put every thing to godly significations and admonitions, there are which wil bring into our service al the ceremonies, either of Aaron, or of the antichrist of Rome, or of the gentils. For the churches which I have described, and to whom I think cannot that liberty be denyed wherof I speak, whatsoever ceremonies or apparel they take to their use, they wil order to serve the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; by setting it forth, not by darkning it. Even as among true christians the next end of al the outward ceremonies, and expresly commanded by the Lord, is the commendation and decking of the ministry of the gospel; by which al superstition and abuse of al things is put to flight. So that will we, nil we, we must needs confes the differences of apparel in them that bear civil office, to give cause unto men wel

affected of singular reverence towards the magistrates. What should let, why the same should not be in the ministry of religion? Every godly motion of the mind procedeth necessarily from the Holy Ghost; and it must needs be maintained by the word of God. Notwithstanding to this Spirit, and to the word of God, al creatures with the godly do serve. And so much the more, if the things by public ordinance be appointed to any godly signification and admonition. For unto the good, God hath created al his works for good and sundry use. He preserveth them, and if they use them in him, he delivereth them unto him. Let us consider what the Holy Ghost teacheth touching the signification of the vail of a woman, of the covering of a mans head, 1 Cor. 11. Also, why he made mention by name of the shining garments of Aaron. He doth nothing rashly, but in al things he procureth the salvation of his, which consisteth by faith of the gospel. But herof I have written more at large to¹ Master à Lasco.

p. 132. The Lord knoweth, how I desire to further your study, but for the restoring of the whole kingdom of Christ: and as I see the abuse of that apparel as yet to remain, I would buy it dearly that they were clean taken away. But to make it wicked of it self to use them any ways, I se no cause. Grant it to me. Whatsoever scriptures you alledg against the *traditions* of men, you know, that al that is to be understood of these things wherwith men wil worship God by themselves, and overpassing the commandments of God, eat meat rather with washed hands than unwashed. Whatsoever you speak of *beggarly and weak elements*, you know it pertaineth to superstition: wherby these things were requisite, as necessary or profitable of themselves to salvation, now that Christ is reveled. Whatsoever you se of the abuse of these garments, that is not in the garments, but sticketh in unclean minds. But can these things be so repugnant to the word and Spirit of God, seing that al things are *clean to them*,

even those which antichrists most filthily have polluted?

If these things shal satisfy you, reverend sir, I wil rejoyce in the Lord. Otherwise I pray you, shew me those scriptures in few words, wherby I may se, that this my opinion touching the liberty of these things standeth not with the word of God. And I pray God, that he so moderate, or else remove this controversy, lest any way it hinder the necessary clensing of the church; and lest they be divided either in opinion or in ministration, whom God in such sort hath coupled and joyned to set forward the salvation of the people.

I wish you and your wife, and al the company of brethren there with you, to live happily in al things, and I commend my ministry unto your prayers. In that I send back so late, and do send you your writings again, I pray you bear with my earnest busines, which these days have let me for the kingdom of Christs sake; and also because I lack trusty messengers, to whom I might commit these to be brought unto you. The grace of the Lord encrease always in you and us al, Amen.

Your most bounden in the Lord,

MARTIN BUCER.

O O.

Crowley's Epigramms concerning Abuses.

I. ABBAYS.

As I walked alone and mused on thyngs,
That have in my time bene done by great kings,
I bethought me of *abbays*, that sometyme I saw,
Which are now suppressed al by a law.
O Lord, thought I then, what occasion was here,
To provide for learning, and make poverty chere?
The lands and the jewels that hereby were hadd,
Would have found godly prechers, which might wel have ladd
The people aright, that now go astray,
And have fed the poor, that famish every day.

E Biblioth.
R. D. Jo-
han. Ep.
Elien.

- p. 133. But as I thus thought, it came to my mynde,
 That the people wil not se, but delyghte to be blynde,
 Wherefore they are not worthy good preachers to have,
 Nor yet be provyded for, but in vayn stil to crave.
 Than sayd I, O Lord God, make this tyme short,
 For theyr only sake, that be thy chosen sort.

II. ALEHOUSES.

Nedes must we have places for vitayls to be sold,
 For such as be syck, pore, feble and old.
 But, Lord, to how great abuse they be grown,
 In eche little hamlet, vyllage and towne ?
 They are become places of wast and excess,
 An herbour for such men, as lyve in idleness.
 And lyghtly in the contry they be placed so,
 That they stand in mens way, when they should to church go.
 And then such as love not to hear theyr faults told
 By the minister that readeth the N. Testament and Old,
 Do turn into the alehouse, and let the church go :
 And men accompted wise and honest do so.
 But London, God be praised, al men may commend,
 Which doth now this great enormity emende.
 For in servyce tyme no dore standeth upp,
 Where such men are apt to fyl can and cupp,
 Wold God in the country they would do the same,
 Either for Gods fear, or for worldly shame.

III. ALMES-HOUSES.

A merchant that long time had bene in straunge landes,
 Returned to his contry which in Europe stands.
 And in his return his way laye to pass
 By a spittle-house not far from wher his dwelling was.
 He loked for this hospital, but none could he se,
 For a lordly house was built, where the hospitall should be.
 Good Lord (sayd this merchant) is my country so wealthy,
 That the very beggars houses be built so gorgeously ?
 Than by the way syde hym chaunced to se
 A pore man that craved of hym for charitie.
 Why ? (quoth this merchaunt) what meaneth this thing ?
 Do ye begg by the way, and have a house for a king ?
 Alas ! sir, (quod the pore man) we are al turned out,
 And ly and dy in corners here and thereabout.
 Men of great riches have bought our dwelling place,
 And whan we crave of them, they turn away their face.
 Lord God, (quod this merchaunt) in Turkey have I bene,
 Yet emong these heathen none such cruelty have I sene.

IV. BAILIF ARRANTS.

p. 134.

A bailif there was in the west contrey,
 That did as they do in al quarters, men seye.
 He served with one wryt an whole score or tweyne,
 And toke in hand to excuse them, having pence for hys payne.
 And when he should warn a quest in sessions to appear,
 He would surely warn them that would make hym no chere.
 And than take a bribe to make answer for them ;
 But when he met his friends, than would he say, Hem.
 But such as had no chere, nor mony to pay,
 Were sure to trudge to the session alway.
 Ye must give hym some thyng to sow his hadland,
 Or else ye can have no favour at his hand.
 Some puddings or baken, or chese for to eat,
 A bushel of barley, some malt or some wheat.
 His hadland is good ground and beareth all thyng,
 Be it beken or beffe, stockfyshe or lynge.
 Thus pore men are sold and pild to the bare,
 By such as should serve them to kepe them from care.

V. BAWDS.

The bawds of the stews be turned al out :
 But some think they inhabit al England throughout ;
 In taverns and typling houses many might be found,
 If officers would make serch, but as they are bound.
 Well, let them take heed, I wyl say no more ;
 But when God revengeth, he punisheth sore.

VI. BEGGARS.

I heard of two beggars that under an hedg sate,
 Who did with long talk their matters debate.
 They had both sore leggs most lothsome to se,
 Al raw from the fote welmost to the knee.
 My legg, quod the one, I thank God, is fayre,
 So is myne, quod the other, in a cold ayre.
 For then it loketh raw, and as red as any bloud ;
 I would not have it healed for any worlds good.
 For were it once whole, my lyving were gone,
 And for a sturdy beggar, I should be take anone,
 No manne would pity me but for my sore legg,
 Wherefore if it were whole, in vain I might begg.
 I should be constrained to labour and sweat,
 And perhaps sometime with scourges be beat.
 Wel, sayd the tother, let us take hede therfore,
 That we let them not heal, but kepe them styl sore.
 Another thyng I hear of a beggar that was lame,
 Much lyke one of these, if it were not the same :

p. 135. Who sytting by the fyre with the cupp in hys hand,
 Began to wonder whan he should turn good husband.
 I shal never thryve. quod this beggar, I wene,
 For I gate but xvi pence to day, and I have spent eyghtene.
 Wel, let the world wagg, we must needs have drink;
 Go, fyl me this quart pot ful to the brink.
 The tongue must have bastying, it wil the better wagg
 To pul a goddes peny out of a churles bagg.

VII. BRAWLERS.

A brawler that loveth to break the kings peace,
 And seke his own sorowe his fancy to please,
 Is like a burr dogg that setteth upon
 Eche mastife and hound that he may light on:
 He getteth hym hatred of every manne,
 And meteth with his master ever now and than.
 To hurt other menn he taketh great payne
 He turneth no mann to profit or gayne;
 Except it be the surgeon or the armorer,
 The baylife, the constable, or the jayler.

VIII. THE COLLIER OF CROYDEN.

It is said that in Croydon there did sometyne dwell
 A collyer that did al other collyers excel.
 For his riches thys collyer might have bene a knight,
 But in the order of knighthood he had no delight.
 Would God al our knights did mind coling no more,
 Than thys collyer did knightiug, as is sayd before.
 For when none but pore collyers did with coles mell,
 At a reasonable price they did their coles sell.
 But syuce our knight collyers have had the first sale,
 We have payd much money, and had few sacks to tale.
 A lode that late yeres for a royal was sold,
 Wyl cost now xvi shillings of sylver or gold.
 God graunt these men grace their polling to refrayne,
 Or els bryng them back to theyr old state agayne;
 And especially the colliar that at Croyden doth sell;
 For men think he is cosin to the collyar of hell.

IX. DOUBLE BENEFICED MEN.

The kyng of that realme where justice doth reign,
 Perused old statutes that in bokes remayne,
 And as he turned the boke, hym cym chaunced to se,
 That such as have benefices should resident be;
 And have their abyding, whyles theyr lyfe should endure,
 Among them over whom God hath geven them cure.
 Then sayd he to himself, I thynk wel there is
 No law in this realm worse observed than this.

Yet can there nothing my flock more decay,
 Then when hyrelings suffer my shepe go astray.
 Then called he his council and told them his mind,
 And wylled that they should some remedy find.
 Who with good advyce agreed on this thyng,
 That visitours should be sent with the power of the king,
 To punish al such as hereyn dyd offend,
 Unles they were found thorow willing to amend.
 These visitours found many stout priests, but chiefly one
 Who had sundry benefices, but would surrender none.
 Then was this stout fellow brought to the king,
 Who sayd unto hym, how chaunceth this thyng?
 Wyl ye transgress my laws, and than disobey
 Menne havynge my power? sir, what can you say?
 If it mai like your grace (quod he) lo! here is to see
 Your seal at a graunt of pluralitie.
 Wel, sayd the kyng than, I repent me of al yll:
 But tel me maister doctour, wil you have your benefices stil?
 If your grace do me ryght (quod he) I must have them my life
 time.
 So shalt thou, sayd the kyng, for to morrow by prime,
 God wylling, thy body shal be divided and sent,
 To ech benefice a piece, to make thee resident.
 Away with hym, (quod the kyng) and let al thyngs be done
 As I have geven sentence by to morrow ere none,
 For syth thou art a stout priest, an example thou shalt be,
 That al stoubourn priests may take warnyng by thee.

X. FORESTALLERS.

The fryses of Walys to Bristow are brought,
 But before they were woven, in Walys they are bought.
 So that now we do pay four groats or els more,
 For the fryse we have bought for eight pence heretofore.
 And some say, the wool is bought ere it do grow,
 And the corn long before it come in the mowe.
 And one thyng there is that hurteth most of al,
 Reversions of farmes are bought long ere they fal.
 And ryght so are benefices in every coast:
 So that persons and vicars kepe neither sodd nor rost.
 The pore of the parish whom the person should fede,
 Can have nought of our tythis to succour theyr nede.
 Reversions of fermes are bought on each syde,
 And the old tenant must pay wel, if he wyl abyde:
 And where the father payd a peny and a capon or twayn,
 The son must pay ten pounds; which passeth my brayn.
 Wel, let these forestallers repent them by tyme,
 Lest the clark of the market be with them ere prime.
 For he when he cometh wyl punysh them all,
 That do any nedeful thyng ingrose or forestal.

p. 137.

XI. NICE WIVES.

I think the abominable whores of the stews
 Did never more whorelike attyrements use.
 The capp on hyr head is lyke a sowes maw,
 Such another fashion, I thynk never Jew saw.
 Then fine geare on the forehead set after the new tryck,
 Tho' it cost a crown or two, what then? They may not styck.
 If theyr heyr wyl not take colour, then must they buy new,
 And lay it out in tussocks; this thyng is too true.
 At ech syde a tussock as bygg as a ball,
 A very fayr syght for a fornicator bestiall.
 Hyr face fayr paynted to make it shyne bryght,
 And hyr bosome al bare in most whorelyke dight.
 Hyr myddle braced in as smal as a wand,
 And some buy wasts of wyre at the pastwyfes hand.
 A bumbe lyke a barrel, with whoops at the skyrte;
 Hyr shoes of such stuff that may touch no dyрте.
 Upon hyr whyte fyngers many ryngs of gold,
 With such maner stones, as are most dearly sold.
 Of al theyr other trifles I wyl say nothyng,
 Least I have but smal thanks for thys my wrytyng.
 Al modest matrons, I trust wil take my part;
 As for nice whippets words shal not come ny my hert.

XII. OBSTINATE PAPISTS.

An obstinate papist that was sometime a frier,
 Had of hys friers cote so great a desire,
 That he stale out of England, and went to Lovayne,
 And gat hys friers cote on hys foles back agayne.
 A wilful beggar this papist wyl be,
 A fole and a fryer: and thus is one man three.
 Would God al the papists that he left behynd,
 Were with hym in fryers cotys according to their kynd.

XIII. VAYN WRYTERS, VAYN TALKERS, VAYN
HEARERS.

Of late as I lay and lacked my rest,
 At such tyme as Titan drew fast to the east,
 Thys saying of Christ came into my mynde,
 Which certayn and true al maner men shal fynde;
 Of every idle word ye shal geve a reckonyng,
 Be it spoken by mouth, or put in wrytyng.
 O Lord, thought I then, what case be they in,
 That talk and write vaynly, and think it no syn?
 Then slombred I a little, and thought that I saw
 Three sorts of vayn menne condemned by Gods law.

The one was a wryter of thyngs nought and vayn,
 And another a talker; and this was theyr payn:
 The wryter had the crowne of hys head opened;
 Whose brayns with a styck the talker styrred.
 And he with both hands drew the talkers tongue,
 So that withowt hys mouth it was an handful long:
 The third was an herkener of fables and lyes,
 Whose ears were almost drawn up to hys eyes.

XIV. UNSATIABLE PURCHASERS.

An unreasonable rych man dyd ryde by the way,
 Who for lack of men hadd with hym a boy.
 And as he past by a pasture most pleasant to se,
 Of late I have purchased thys ground, Jack, quod he.
 Mary, maister, quod the boy, men say over al,
 That your purchase is great, but your household is smal.
 Why, Jack, quod thys riche man, what have they to do!
 Would they have me to purchase, and kepe great house too?
 I cannot tel, quod the boy, what maketh them to brawle,
 But they say, that ye purchase the devil, his dam and all.

XV. USURERS.

A certain man had lands, little though it were,
 And yet wold faine have lived lyke a gentlemans peer.
 Of thys land he made sale, and toke ready gold;
 And let that for double rent of the land that was sold.
 Then came there a broker, and sayd if he would do
 As he would advise hym, he should make of one peny two.
 Mary, that would I fain do, quod thys usurer than,
 I pray thee teach me the feat, if thou can.
 You shal, sayd thys broker, lend but for a monthis day;
 And be sure of a sufficient gage alway,
 With a playn bil of sale, if the day be not kept,
 And se that ye do no causes accept.
 Than must you be sure, that your interest be
 One peny for a shilling, and three pence for three.
 So by the yeres end twelve months geve twelve pence
 For the use of a shillyng, lo! I have told you al sence.
 Than sayd thys usurer, this matter goeth wel,
 For my twenty pound land, that I chanced to sel,
 I shal have four hundred pound rent by the yere,
 To lyve lyke a lord, and make joly chere.

p. 139.

P P.

The Form of the commission by the King to his council, in his minority.

Titus B. 2. EDWARD the sixth, &c. Whereas the late king, our most gracious lord, and loving father, King Henry VIII. of most worthy memory, perceiving in himself to draw towards the end of this vain and transitory life, made his will and testament in such maner and form, as appeareth enrolled in our high court of chancery for matter of record; and considering at the making of the said last will and testament, that the crown imperial, and kingly regiment of so great and many realms, dominions, and subjects, descending unto us by right, title and succession after his decease; we, for lack of knowledg and experience, which our young and few years at that time could not so soon have conceived and gotten, should not of ourselves be so wel able to administer, direct and rule the affairs of our said realms, dominions and subjects, as both to our own honour and surety, and also to the benefit and preservation of our own good subjects should appertain; did therefore, like a most prudent prince, and a very kind and natural loving father, choose, elect, name and ordain to be our executors and counsellors of privy council about us, such personages, as of whose faithfulness, wisdoms and diligences he had received, by a long time, good proofs, and great experience; that is to say, *A. B.*, &c. Praying, willing and commanding them in as earnest maner, and with as great charge as he could devise, to take upon them the offices of his executors and our counsellors of privy council: giving to them such authority and commission for the counsailing of us, and the government of our person, and the mayning and directing of our affairs, both private and public, as in his said last wil and testament doth appear: also charging and commanding us, so far forth as a father might charge

and command his son, to be ordered and ruled by the advice and counsel of his said executors and counsellors.

And wheras also upon a special trust and confidence, which our said father had in A. B. &c. he appointed them in his said last wil and testament to be of counsel, for the aiding and assisting of the forenamed counsellors and executors, when they or any of them should be called by his said executors, or the more part of the same : like as first, we must and do, among many other benefits given unto us of God, knowledg his gift unto us of so prudent, careful, loving, kind, and wise a father, to be one of the greatest gifts and benefits unto us, and therafter render unto his Divine Majesty our most humble, lowly, and most hearty thanks ; so finding already, and knowing certainly how necessary, profitable, and honorable the making, appointing, and mayning by the said late king our father of his forenamed executors and counsellors for assistance, and also th'ordre, charge, commission and authority given to them by him ; and his charge also to us to be advised and counselled by them ; hath been and is to us, our realms, dominions, and subjects. p. 140.

WE do, of our certain knowledg and mere motion, approve, confirm, ratify, and take in most gracious, firm, stable, and thankful part, al and every deed and deeds, act and acts, thing and things, of what nature, condition or quality they, or any of them, have been or be ; which the foresaid executors and counsellors of privy council, or the most part of them assembled in council, or the forenamed executors and counsellors of privy council, and counsellors for assistance, or the most part of them assembled in council, have treated, concluded, commanded, ordered, appointed, directed, advised, counselled, written, said or don, at any time or times, or in any maner wise, or by any maner mean, sithence the decease of the said late king our father, in, for, or concerning the

gövernment of our person, or the order, rule, government, direction, or mayning in any manerwise, with, of, or in our affairs, private or public, inward or outward, of our realms, dominions, or subjects, or any of them.

And forasmuch as having but now lately accomplished the age of twelve years, we do nevertheles, thanks be to God, wel perceive and understand, how much unable yet for a time we are, for want of perfect knowledg and experience, to take unto our own mayning and direction, our affairs, either public or private, such are the great numbers and variety of the same, occurring daily as wel at home in our dominions, as with foreign parts. And considering also how convenient, needful, profitable, and honorable it is, for every prince, of what estate or age so ever he be, to elect, and have about him, grave and wise counsellors, and to follow their advice and counsel, in al his doings and procedings; we therfore of our certain knowledg, mere motion, and very just consideration, and for the good proof which we have always had of A. B. &c. whom the said late king, our said father, did name and order to be his executors, and counsellours to us of our privy council; and of the said A. B. &c. whom our said father did appoint to be counsellors for assistance; do desire and pray, and nevertheles wil and command them to execute, use, exercise, and take upon them the offices and places of counsellors of our privy council, and counsellors for assistance, in such maner and form as our said father by his last wil and testament hath named and appointed them and every of them, for and concerning their advice for our mariage; for and concerning the government of our person; the ordering the affairs of the realm, both outward and inward; and also our own private affairs: so to continue in the said rooms and places during our plesure, the same our plesure to be declared to them, or any such of them, whom we shal upon occasion fortune here-

after to discharge from any of the said rooms or places, by our letters patents signed with our own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England.

And for because the variety and number of things, affairs, and matters, are, and may be such, as we not knowing now beforehand the names, natures, qualities, or certainties of them, cannot conveniently prescribe or set forth any certain instructions, rules, or orders, unto our said counsellors, for their behaviour and proceedings in this charge, which we have, and do now appoint unto them during our plesure, as aforesaid: we therefore, for the special trust and confidence which we have in them, do give and grant full power and authority to them, or to the most part of them, assembled together in council, and in the absence of any of them, to the most part of them which shall be present and assembled together in council; to make, devise, and ordain what thing or things soever they or the more part of them, as aforesaid, shall from time to time, and at all times during the time they be our counsellors, think necessary, meet, or convenient, for the benefit, honor, surety, weal public, or commoditie, of us, our realms, dominions, or subjects, or any of them: and the same thing or things so made or ordained by them, or the more part of them, as aforesaid, to do, execute, accomplish, and set forth for us, and in our name, or cause to be don, executed, accomplished, and set forth, for us, and in our name, by their discretions, or the discretions of the more part of them as aforesaid, in as large and ample maner, as if we had or did expresse unto them in special words, articles, or matters, or by more special commission, the self same maner of doing or proceeding, which they or the more part of them, as aforesaid, shall think meet from time to time to use or follow, or the self same particular matter or matters, cause or causes, that may chaunce or occur, the time they be our counsellors, as aforesaid, willing and commanding, &c.

p. 141.

Q Q.

Certain Orders set forth by the Justices of Cornwall, for the accomplishment of the kings commandment, by his highness's letters to them directed; for the speedy reformation of the unreasonable prizes of victuals in markets, and for the punishment of the causers of the same.

CORNWAL.

Titus, B. 2. FIRST, That the said justices, within their circuits and limits to them appointed, do treat with the best and most honest personages of any market-towns within their said limits; and to know of them the names of those which were wont to serve the markets, and such as now be hable to serve the same markets, of grain; which of butter and cheese; which of flesh: and whether they, or any of them, have withdrawn, or not.

Item, After that taken and entred in a book, then to know of them what the names of those were that have sold the same at excessive prices, sithence the late commandment.

p. 142. *Item*, That every justice in their limits do send for the said sellers, and to take their answers, and the proofs of the said town-dwellers. And if it shal then appear they have offended, then to give them day under sureties to appear before them to receive their deserts.

Item, If they accuse others that make sale of the same to them at excessive prices, that then those be sent for, and put under like sureties.

Item, The grain of every the parishes to be surveyed by the said justices, and likewise the of the same; to be likewise entred in a book; who occupieth the same, and with what stuff, and what prices the same have been sold: whether they were fat or lean, and to whom.

Item, That victuallers be appointed to serve in

the said market-towns, such as dwel nigh, or in the said towns, and be no graziers : and they to fetch cattel for the same markets with the said graziers, by the precept of the said justices, or any of them, directed to the constable of his parish there : and such constable is for their warrant to deliver the same to his said victualler, paying for the same at the kings majesties price.

Item, Likewise that grain be appointed to serve the said markets by the said surveyors at reasonable prices, by them to be appointed, after the quantity by those persons there, as it shal appear it is by their survey.

Item, Likewise of butter and cheese, that they that were accustomed to serve the markets with butter and cheese, and other victuals, do serve the same, if they have wherewith, at the kings price.

Item, That the butcher, having beefs, muttons, and al other victuals, at his graziers hands at the kings price, shal be compelled to sel the same to the kings people according to that rate, by the orders of the mayors and chief officers of the market-town, at the commandment of the justices.

Item, That if any ambiguity rise betwixt the butcher and the grazier in making the price, having regard to the largeness of the beast, that the same be appealed, and adjudged by the justice of peax next adjoining.

Item, That every victualler bring the hide of every the beasts that shal be killed weekly to the markets, and there make sale of them in open market, at such prices as the justices of peax shal appoint.

Item, That henceforth no fisher make sale of any kind of fish upon the sea, nor elsewhere, but upon the strand ; and that the same remain upon the strand during one whole hour, to be sold to al comers of the country, at such prices as one of the said fishers and one of the landmen wil appoint. And in case none of the country be there to buy the said fish, or any part therof, by the space of one hour, that then

the said fishers shal be at liberty to sel the same to any jowtar, or other, to their most advantage, as they and the buyers may agree.

Item, When the fisher or jowtar bring any fish to the market, that then they sel the same at reasonable prices, or els at such prices as the mayors and chief officers of the same town shal appoint.

p. 143. *A Table, making mention of certain prizes made by the kings majesties justices, of all kinds of corn, and sundry other necessities.*

<i>Cornwall.</i>		<i>A bushel of wheat.</i>	
At Stretton	}	3s. 4d.	} <i>Memorand.</i> This is 12 gallons to the bushel.
Launceston			
Saltashe			
Lyskerde,	}	4s. 8d.	} 16 gallons to the bushel.
Lowe			
Bodmyn			
Lostuthyel	}	5s. 8d.	} 18 gallons to the bushel.
Tregony			
Trerewe			
St. Columbe	}	6s.	} This is a greater measure still.
Penryn			
Padstow			
Helston	}		
Redruythe			

A bushel of barley.

Bodmyn	}	20d.
Lostuthiel		
Tregonye		
Trerewe	}	5s. (It should be 15d.)
St. Columbe		
Penryn		
Padstow	}	16d.
Helston		
Redruthe		
Launceston	}	12d.
Saltashe		
Leskyrd		
Low	}	
Strotton		

A bushel of oats.

At Bodmyn	}	20d.
Padstow		
Lostuthiel		
Leskyrd	}	18d.
Low		
Saltash		
Launceston	}	

Memorand. The measure of oats is great, and not at one size, but in some places more than in some.

A gallon of the best Gascoin wine 6d.

A yard of dowlas linnin cloth 9d.

Ditto of lockeram 7d.

The hide of every cow, untanned, 4s. 3d. or 3s. 4d.

The hide of an ox, untanned, 6s. 8d.

Ditto, stere, 4s. 4d. or 3s. 4d.

Ditto, heiffer, 3s. 4d. or 2s. 8d.

A dyck of shop leather, well tanned, viz. two hides at the least, 3l.

A foot of clowte leather 3s.

A pair of mans shoes 10d. or 11d.

Ditto womans, 6d. or 7d.

A pair of boots, the best, 3s. 4d.

And if any person be disobedient to any of the orders before mentioned, that the same be brought to the next justice of the peace, by him to be committed to ward, or else to be bound, at the discretion of the said justice, to appear before the justices of Oyer and Terminer; there to receive worthy punishment for their offences.

[Then follows a table, making mention of the prizes of sundry kinds of victuals, taxed and appointed by the kings majesties proclamation. Which is exemplified in the foregoing history.

For the overselling. The forfeiture for every of the greater beasts, as of oxen, and such like 5l. apiece: and of the sheep 10s. apiece.

BOOK II. A.

p. 144.

Scory, Bishop of Rochester, unto the Kings most excellent Majesty; putting him in mind of certain suits made to him, in his sermon before him last Lent.

I GIVE most humble thanks to God and to your majesty, that it hath pleased you to judge me faithful, in putting me in the ministry. And although your majesty hath a number of faithful subjects, that could accomplish this office better than I, yet I wil through God's grace, and according to my hability, wholly endeavour my self to serve God and your majesty in my ministry, both faithfully and diligently.

MSS. Guil.
Petyt,
Armig.

And now I most humbly beseech your majesty, to

remember and consider, among other, two of the essential suits that I made the last Lent in my sermons unto your majesty. The first was for the restitution of the ecclesiastical discipline, wherby virtue may have again her old and just estimation, and vice put to shame and confusion. The second was to banish greedy avarice. The which hath by inclosures, and converting tillage into sheep-pastures, contrary to the wholesome laws of this your noble realm, decayed your villages, townes, and cities, brought in an intolerable scarcity and dearth of al things, that your faithful subjects should live by; diminished the number of your people in the country, and therby feebled and weakned your mighty power and strength, that your noble progenitors had, and your majesty should and might have against the enemy: and finally, if speedy remedy be not provided by your noble majesty and prudent counsellors, it wil bring your honorable state, and this your realm, in time past most worthy, unto utter ruine and desolation: the which God, for the mercies of his Son Jesus Christ, save your majesty and your noble realm from. O! what a lamentable thing is it to consider, that there are not at this day ten plows, wheras were wont to be forty or fifty. Wheras your majesties progenitors had an hundred men to serve them with reverend obedience in the time of peace, and in the time of wars, with their strength, policy, goods, and bodies, you majesty have now scant half so many. And yet a great number of them are so pined and famished by the reason of the great scarcity and dearth of al kind of victuals, that the great sheep-masters have brought into this noble realm, that they are become more like the slavery and paisantry of France, than the antient and godly yeomandry of England. Oh! what a lamentable thing is it to behold that ground, which at this time of the year, through mens diligent labour and Gods blessing, was wont to be richly adorned with corn, to be now, through Gods curse that is fallen upon us for our idlenes and greedy ava-

rice, replenished with mayweed, thistles, docks, and such like unprofitable weeds! The ground without controversy would be as fruitful as it hath been in times past, if it were, according to God's ordinance, and the wholesome laws of this realm, laboriously drest and tilled, as it was wont to be. But to trust to have as much upon one acre as was wont to grow upon three, (for I think that the tillage is not now above that rate, if it be so much) is but a vain expectation, and a wicked tempting of God; seeing that now God sending us seasonable seasons, we are compelled, as the experience of this year have declared, to seek relief of our scarcity and dearth of corn at the hands of strangers. Which was wont, having such seasonable times, to relieve them with all kinds of grains: what should we be compelled to do, if God should send us but one year unseasonable weathers? If we have scarcity and dearth by the reason the ground is untilled and unsown, when God sendeth us rain and seasonable times, in what misery and calamity shal we be, when he shal send us the contrary?

Wherefore, most noble king, and my most dread sovereign lord, consider and ponder wel this matter. And so I beseech God, for Jesus Christ, to preserve your royal majesty, with your honorable council and your whole realm.

Your majesties most humble subject,
JOHN SCOREY, Bp. of Roch.

B.

Polydore Vergil to Secretary Cecyl, for his warrant to receive the king's gift.

OPTIME Cecilli, s. initium jungendæ amicitiaë MSS. Cecil.
tecum occasio hæc facit. Heri enim adivi ad illustrem Northumbriæ Ducem, mei negotii causa, qui statim petiit, an accepissem schedulam à concilio

regio subscriptam de dono majestatis regiæ dato. Respondi intellexisse me à dno. privati sigilli custode, eam esse signatam. Tum ille inquit, *Mane domi, ipse namq; ad te illam mox mittendem curabo, si non potueris commodo tuo antè habere.* At ego ne immodestus viderer, hodie benè mane me ad regiam contuli; quia etsi heri te convenire studui, uspiam tamen non potui; sed accidit, ut tu Paulo ante de cubiculo tuo exiveris. Quare nunc mitto ad te famulum meum Polydorum Rosse cum his literis meis; cui rogo, velis eam ipsam schedulam ad me dare, quo possim tempore suo rem meam peragere. Siquid vero tibi tuísq; ministris inde debeatur, illud libenter persolvam. Vale, & me ama. Ex ædibus nostris, X Novemb. 1551.

Tuus POLYDORUS VERGILIUS,
manu mea.

p. 146.

C.

*Thomas Gresham to the Duke of Northumberland,
from Antwerp; concerning the kings debts.*

To the Duke of Northumberlands grace.

Cott. Libr.
Galba,
B. 12.

It may please your grace to be advertised, that as the 20. of this present I came unto this town of Antwerp in safty: wheras I found neither Jasper Schetz, nor the Fuggers, factor, being at Brussels, and looked for to-morrow at the farthest, being the 21st day. With whom I shal treat according to such commission as the kings majesty hath given me: wishing at this time, that it may please God to send me such good succes, as that the kings majesties honor and credit may be nothing touched. For that it shal be no smal grief unto me that in my time, being his majesties agent, any merchant-strangers should be forced to forbear their mony against their wills. Which matter from henceforth must be otherwise foreseen, or els in the end the dishonesty of this

matter shal hereafter be wholly laid upon my neck, if any thing should chance of your grace, or my L. of Pembroke, otherwise than wel; for that we be al mortal. Which matter I do not doubt, if God send you life, you wil foresee in time. Wherin I wil advertise you my poor and simple advice at large.

But ere that I do procede any further in this matter, I shal most humbly desire your grace to pardon me of my writing; for that this matter toucheth the kings majesties honour and credit; which I am bound by my oath to maintain and keep: as also the very love and obedience I do owe unto you, putteth me clean out of fear to write unto you this my ful mind at large. For it may please your grace to understand, that at my coming home I brought with me two bargains, for to discharge the kings majesties debt, due the 20th of August, amounting to the sum of 56000*l*. as also of an overplus to remain in the kings hands for the service of a year: and that was, I offered 52000*l*. in ready mony, after the rate of 12*l*. upon the hundred for a whole year. And therewith the kings majesty should have taken Manuel Ryssis jewel; which I offered once to you for 8000*l*. with another diamont of the value of 1000*l*. Which jewel I shewed to the council at Alltham, being there my Lord of Wiltshire, my Lord Darcy, my Lord Warden, Sir John Gates, and the there reckoning the jewels to be worth nothing, were they never so perfect or orient. Secondly, I offered them a bargain from the Fugger for the prolongation of 25000*l*. and to have taken 5000*l*. in fustians: which also did not like them; saying that there was no other remedy, but that the Fuggor and the Schetz must forbear with the kings majesty at this time; and that they would have them prolonged for another year, without taking any merchandize or jewels. Which matter did not a little abash me, considering how things heretofore hath been used. For as your grace doth right wel know, when the kings majesties father did first begin here to take up mony upon

interest, Master Stephen Vaghan being his agent, he took his fee-peny in merchandize, either in jewels, copper, gunpowder, or fustians. And so the matter hath past ever since in taking of wares, when the kings majesty hath made any prolongation, until the charge therof was committed unto me. Wherin I travailed to the utmost of my power, and by the means of my friends, I found the means to serve the king with 20000*l.* without taking any jewels or merchandize, as your grace best knoweth. And to be plain with your grace in this matter, I was fain to give forth mine own (word) that this mony should be paid at the just day, or else the kings majesty could never have had it.

Since the which time it is not unknown to your grace, that the world is wonderfully altered here by reason of these wars. For that the emperor hath taken up the most part upon this bourse of Antwerp; which hath made a mervailous scarcity of mony. Wherin consideration ought to be had; as also the formal bargains heretofore made in taking the *fourth peny* inways. Which thing I wil insure your grace I have utterly abhorred it. For that lay in my power, having none other shift at this present, nor could find none other ways at this present to serve the kings majesties turn. Which offers did nothing like the kings majesties council, saying, that there was none other remedy but that the king must prolong the debt of the Fugger and the Schetz for another year, or for six months at the least. Where-with I declared before them of the council, that this matter touched the kings majesties honor and credit; and that hereafter if the kings majesty should have need of mony, he should not find it, if they would thus fish the merchants against their wills: knowing that my friends the Schetz had need of their mony. Wherin your grace must have a consideration, and earnest respect thereunto. For truly my poor experience is, better it were for the kings majesty to leese as much mony as he oweth, than his credit should be

touched in this matter: praying to the living God, that I may never se that day. And to be plain with your grace in this matter, according to my bounden duty, verily if there be not some other ways taken for the payment of his majesties debts, but to force men from time to time to prolong it, I say to you, the end therof shal neither be honorable nor profitable to his highnes.

In consideration wherof, if there be none other ways taken forthwith, this is most humbly to beseech your grace that I may be discharged of this office of agentship: for otherwise I se in the end, I shal receive shame and discredit therby, to my utter undoing for ever: which is the smallest matter of al, so that the kings majesties credit be not spotted therby, and especially in a strange country; wheras at this present his credit is better than the emperors; which I pray to the living God long to continue. For now the emperor giveth 16 *per cent.* and yet no mony to be gotten, &c.

Also, this is to give your grace to understand, that the kings grace hath given me another commission, to common for the prolongation of the sum of 43000*l.* and his majesty is content to take 6000*l.* in fustians at such prizes as he hath heretofore taken them, upon condition that his majesty may transport and sel these fustians, wheras he shal think good. For that heretofore in al his bargains made with the Fugger, his majesty was bound to sel them in England. p. 148.

Further, I must treat with Jasper Schetz, that so far forth as he is content to prolong the 10000*l.* due to the 20th of November for six month, that then the kings majesty would pay the 12000*l.* due to the 20th of this present month, betwixt this and the 20th of November, allowing them interest for the same time. So that they shal not so soon come to this town, but I shal be in hand with the Fugger and the Schetz; and shal bring their answer my self to the kings majesty and you with al the expedition I can

make: praying to the living God, I may bring this prolongation according to the expectation of the kings majesty, and his most honorable council. And then I do not doubt, if that my poor simple advice may be heard and take place, I do not mistrust, but in two years to bring the kings majesty wholly out of debt. Which I pray God send me life to see that day.

And for the accomplishment of the same, my request shall be to his majesty and you, to appoint me out weekly 12 or 1300*l.* to be secretly received at one mans hands; so that it may be kept secret, and that I may therunto trust, and that I may make my reconing thereof assuredly. I shall so use this matter here in this town of Antwerp, that every day I will be seen to take up 2 or 300*l.* sterling by exchange. And this doing, it shall not be perceived, nor it shall not be no occasion to make the exchange fall. For that it shall be taken up in my name. And by these means, in working by deliberation and time, the merchants turn also shall be served. As also this should bring all merchants out of such suspicion, whom doubteth nothing to pay of the kings debts; and will not stick to say, that ere the payments of the kings debts, it will bring down the exchange to 13*s.* 4*d.* which I trust never to see that day.

So that by this you may perceive, if I do take up every day but 200*l.* *per diem*, (it will) amount in one year to 72,000*l.* and the k. majesty oweth here, at this present, an hundred and eight thousand pound, with the interest mony that was prolonged after this time. So that by these means, in two years time will be compassed according to my purpose set forth; as also by this means you shall neither trouble merchant adventurer, nor stapler, nor merchant stranger, &c.

Also, there is another matter, which I would were all in the kings hands, and that is *lead*: which now is worth here 8*l.* Flemish. So that if it standeth with the kings majesties pleasure, for the which to make

a proclamation, or els to shut up his custome house, that no man to convey out any parcel of lead five years day, upon forfeiture of life and goods, it shal not only cause the merchants to sel their lead there again good cheap, but it shal make it fal at the peckes ; wheras there be foddres molten above 3 or 4000, as I found; and now selleth for 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the C. at Hul ; which is a goodly matter. Wherefore the king shal make a staple therof ; and he shal cause it to rise, and to feed them here as they shal have need therof from time to time. Which thing must be don out of hand, so that there may be none sent hither by the merchants that be of merkets, which wil be an occasion to make it fal here. And this doing the kings majesty shal be a great profiler therby, as to you may appear. p. 149.

And by these means your grace shal receive much honor, and al those that be now of the council, in keeping his mony within his realms, as also in bringing him out of debt, that his late father, and the late Duke of Somerset brought him in : which al the world doth right wel know therof. And also your grace shal do his majesty such service as no duke in England, to the renown of your house for ever. For verily I say to your grace, if this mony shal be prolonged upon interest, it wil be a marvelous great hindrance to his majesty: therefore it behoveth your grace most earnestly to prevent this matter in time, if it be possible.

Now and it please your grace, if this matter of *lead* doth like you, this is most humbly to require, if there be any restraint made according to my writing, that it may please the kings majesty to grant me pasport to transport 300 foddres of lead, which I have bought of Mr. Beaumont and others, as your grace right wel knoweth. Wherof as yet I have received but 40 foddres of Mr. Beaumont. Wherin I shal desire you to move him in my behalf that I may have my lead delivered me out of hand. For that it may please your grace I have sold the afore-

said lead to my friend the Schetz, to convey it him at the cost and charge and adventure at Hamburgh, at 14s. the ways: and twelve waye maketh a fodder.

Certifying your grace, that this day I have had perfect news from Hamburgh, that I have a ship lost with an 100 fodder of lead, which cost me 1000*l.* wherof I have assured 600*l.* so I do leese clear 400*l.* Most instantly requiring your grace of your abundant goodnes, to help me forthwith to the one thousand fifty two pounds which the kings majesty hath ought me this eight months, as your grace best knoweth: for verily I am in great need therof. And partly at this time my honesty and credit lyes theron. So God help me, as at my coming home I shal declare to your grace this my necessity more at large.

Then follow news out of Germany and France.

Not mistrusting ere the year goeth about to save the kings majesty 20000*l.* in the payment of his debts, if I may be credited. Wherin I shal not let to forsake my own trade of living, for the better serving of his majesty, as knoweth who preserve your grace in health with encrease of honor. From Antwerp, the 21 Aug. 1552.

At your graces commandment during life,

THOMAS GRESHAM, Mercer.

It may please your grace to do my
most humble commendations to
my good Lord Pembroke.

*Dr. Cox to Bullinger; concerning the review of
the book of prayers and Sacraments.*

*Charissimo in Christo Fratri D. Henrico
Bullingero, ecclesiæ tigurinæ Antistiti,
Ric. Cox.*

ETSI nihil est alicujus momenti, Charissime in
Christo Frater, quod ad te jam scribam, tamen

Joannem hunc nostrum sine literis meis omnino dimittere nolui: id quod ipse quoq; ægerrimè tulisset. Quod ad sinceræ religionis negotium attinet, benedictus Dominus Deus, cujus jubar mirificè nobis indies affulget. Jam iterum publicarum precum ritum, atq; etiam sacramentorum ipsorum immutavimus; & ad normam verbi Dei expolvimus. Sed acerbas istas Christianæ disciplinæ institutiones, cane pejus & angue, odimus. Volumus esse filii, quin & hæredes etiam, sed virgam exhorrescimus. Excita nos, id est, optimates nostros, per spiritum qui datus est tibi, ad disciplinæ studium, qua sine (dolens dico) auferetur à nobis regnum Dei, & dabitur genti facienti fructum ejus.

Ex.Archiv.
Eccles.
Tigurin.

Sed unum est, mi Bullingere, quod penitus edoceri percipio. Lego in libro tuo de cœna domini, in quinta decade, hæc verba, “ Quoniam non est publicus vel generalis cœtus, quando quatuor vel quinque cum ægro communicant, nihil dicunt qui aiunt apud ægros cœnam instrui posse, si alii quoq; simul cœnent.” Quod si coacto publico cœtu, tres, quatuor aut quinque tantum ex multis centenariis (aliis omnibus recusantibus) percipere velint sacramentum eucharistiæ, annon aliis præsentibus, aut è templo discedentibus, id facere liceat? Cur ergo ægrotus hoc beneficio fraudabitur? De hac re plenus instrui exopto, cum per otium tibi vacaverit. D. Jesus te nobis diutissime conservet incolumem ad Christi gloriam, & ecclesiæ suæ ædificationem. Windesoræ Anglorum. Vº. Octobris 1552.

Tuus in Christo Frater

Ric. Cox.

p. 151.

E.

Thomas Barnabe, a merchant, to Sir William Cecyl, secretary of state. Upon his great and large experience, he propounds to him certain ways to distress the French.

To the right honorable and his special good master, Sir William Cecyl, secretary to the kings majesty.

MSS.
Cecill.

AFTER my most humblest commendacions unto your mastership, yt shal please you to be advertysed, that I have been of late with the commyssioners of Fraunce, that be here com, the which is Monsr. Aubery, lieutenant civil of Parys, and Monsr. Du Val, advocate for the king, of Newhaven, Homfleut, and Harfleut: the which be right honest gentlemen, and speke wel, and say, that they are not alonely sent to common with us, as the people maketh report of them, but to make restitution. And one of them also said unto me, that our people be very desirous here to have war with them, and that we should not fynd the realm of Fraunce after the sort that we did for sixscore yeres agone, when we did conquere yt. For he said, that then the Duke of Normandy and the Duke of Brytayne, and the Duke of Burgoigne, were al three agaynst the French king, and now yt is knytt al to one realme: and that we may se what great hurt we have don them with the warrs, that my Lord of Northfolk and my Lord of Suffolk, and the kings majesty have don, and what towne we can show, that we do hold. But only have spent out al our riches, and destroyed a great nombre of subjects, and left al our mony in Flanders, Heynou, and Artous, to the utter destruction of our realm. The which I answered hym agayn to my simple witt, that I have had as moch experience in France, or in those parties, as moch as any man in the realm of England, and was marryed there for xxxviii yeres agone. And since I

have save conduits of the kings majesty; wherupon hath growen great suits, and to my utter undoing. So that I dare be bold to say, that there is never a port, haven or bay betwene Bouloigne and Bourdeaux, but I know hym. And as for the realm of France besyde, I ought to know yt: for I have ben xxviii viages in France in post for the kings majesty; and contynuallie there al the while, that my Lord of Winchester and Master Wallop were there; and likewyse by my Lord of London and my Lord Pachetts days. And somewhat I gathered there amongst them. For I think there were few men, that was sent so many tymes to the council privily for by-matters, as I was. For the embassadours went never to the corte but for the kings privy affaires, but always yt was my chance to be sent for every mans matters. Wherefore there was nother the chancellor, nor the Cardynal of Lorrayne, nor the Cardinal of Parys, nor the admyral, nor the cunstable, which hath continewed longest in favor, but I have knowen them al.

And as for the *constable*, somewhat I can say of hym. I think he be one of the doblest and dissemblingst gentlemen that is in the world: for there is no more assurance of his word, than to hold an ele by the tayle; but wil speke fair, and promise fair, and work the contrary. And besyde al this, I promyse you of my fayth, he is as popish as I am English, and always hath been. For the which my Lord of Winchester, nor Mr. Wallop did not hate hym: for I do know yt: for I was sent divers viages by my Lord Crumwel, and perceived how the matter went. For the which they sayd both of them, that I was my Lord Crumwel's spy; and so I am assured that they told the cunstable one day. But I cared not, for I had the king my masters procedings hanging in myne eyes. And as Paul sayeth, *I am that I am*.

God knoweth my poor hart, how inoch I do tender the wealth and prosperitie of myne own nation, and that I am sory from the bottom of my hart, to think

that they of France accept us to be gross-natured people and covetous. And they have sayed unto me or now, that yf wee had never so rank or malicious war with them, they know how to buy us for mony. The which methinketh were a strange thing. Howbeyt that was seen by my lord cardynals days : for he hymself toke iiii hundreth thousand crownes, to make peace betwene the Frenchmen and us. The which then was not a lyttel spoken of in France.

I would wishe to God, that we did know our own strength and power, and what ports, bayes and havens we have, that other realms have not. It is not unknown but in al France be barred havens, and yet by reason that they maintain their fishing and their theving, there is more maryners in one towne there, then is here from the lands end to S. Michels Mount. I have sene come out at one tyde, in Diep, five hundred and five botes, and in every bote ten or twelve men. The which was a marvelous matter to se, how they be maintayned by fyshing, and what riches they get by the sea, and how they mayntain their towns and ports. And as for us, let us begin at Sandwich and go to Dover, Hyde and Hastings, and to Winchelsea, and se how they go down for lack of maintenance, and in a maner no mariners in them : which is for lack of good policy to set them a work. Which, sir, yf yt please the cowncel to understand those things that I wil show you, they shal set 6 or 7000 maryners a work more than there is, in that thing, that France can lyve no more without, than the fysh without water ; that is to say, Newcastle coals ; which without that they can neither make stele-work, or metal-work, nor wyer-work, nor goldsmith-work, nor gunns, nor no maner of thing that passeth the fier. And as for them, ye shal se in peace tyme iii or iiii score ships of Normans and Brytons at ones, as soon as theyr fishing is don ; and as they be departed cometh as many moe. So that I occupying save-conduit in France, have bought coles at Newcastle for two shillings and two-pence a

chauldron, and for thirteen nobles have sold them again in France. Also the vice-admiral of Normandy, Monsr. Du May, and the Vicounte of Diep, have prayed me to bring in Newcastle coles, and I should have any other maner of commodyte, that they had within the realm; whether yt were poldavis for saylis, or any other thing.

Now may you se what a commodyte is this smal thing to this realm. So that me seemeth yf the kings majesty would take in these coles into his own hands, and let no other ships, but English ships fetch them at Newcastel, and so to bring them into Kent, and make a staple in such place as should be thought necessary, you should not onely set a wonderful sort of maryners a work, but also yt shal be a great strength to the realm, and specially to the cuntry of Kent; the which is very lene of men by the sea syde, consydering the premysse aforesayd of the going down of the towns. Also it is not unknowen but that the French king hath taken the salt into his own hands, and hath gruntiers in every town to sel yt to his profyt. Now may you way, that the one ys vittayll, and the other is fuel. Also, it is but reason we should avance our own commodyte as well as they do theyrs, to maintain our own subjects withal. Also, I would wysh, that there should nother fuel nor vittayl go out of the realm, but upon English bottomes. p. 153.

Moreover, I have sene go out at one tyde out of Rye, together, 37 hoyes laden with wood and tymber, and never an English maryner amongst them: which is a wonderful discommodyte to this realm. I have great mervail that these things have bene so long forgotten; which is so necessary a thing to be spoken of.

And now, sir, I pray you, speke we of the city of London. There be so many notable merchants, and rich halls of lands. Some may spend viii hondred pound, some vi hondred, some less and some more; and a great revenue come to them yerely for quar-

trages and forfeits ; which riseth to no smal som ; and nothing don withal, but make great feasts every month or six weeks, at their halls, and cause vittayls to be dere. But yt might be torned to a more honorable use. Also, yt would be a great mayntaining to the kings subjects, for every craft to have a ship to cary their merchandizes to and fro, to the great avancement of the kings honor, and to their own commodytes. And yf chance should fal, which God forbyd, that a ship should be lost, the halls might easily bear the smarts therof. I think there is never a city in christendom, having the occupying that this city hath, that is so slenderly provided of ships, hav- yng the sea comyng to yt, as this hath.

I have hard of late moch complaining for English ships to lade goods into Spayn, and other places, and there is none to be hadd. Yf this thing hadd ben thought on in tyme, happily this worly borly of our ships shold not have chanced. For the French men do alledge, that that was the Spanyards goods, and other of the emperors subjects. Wherefore I pray God, that this matter may be looked upon in tyme to come.

Now I come to your mastership with another matter. Yf so be yt, that we should war with them, (as God defend, for there is no man of God but he wil seek peace) I know a town* in Normandy, which yf yt were ours, we should kepe France and Normandy subject. Is yt possible to be beleved? Yea, as sure as the living God lyveth. I have known within this xxxviii yere, there was but three houses ; two houses to lay cables and ancres in, and the other a vittailing house. And at this present day I think there be three thousand. It is now a second Roan. And it is the very gulph, gullet, and mouth of the sea, and a make-peace, yf we had yt. Yt is al the French kings joy, and he calleth the maryners of that town *his* maryners, *his* pylots, and *his* theves. They be mayntayned, and take of us, of the Portugales, and of the Spanyards. Al is

* New-
haven.

fysh that cometh to net; they wil have a pece of every man. Now, sir, wheras the chefe of the French kings revenue is levelled upon salt, as afore-said, yet can yt not be brought into France nor Normandy, but it must come in danger of that town. For the canel lieth of that syde of the land betwene Polhed and that haven. Nother no merchandizes out of what realm soever yt cometh, but yt must go by that way. And also there can nothing come out of France, nother wyne of Ansurois, nor wyne of Bayon, nor wyne of Orleans, nor wyne of Parys, nor any other merchandizes, that is made in Parys or Roan, to go to any other realm, being caryed by water, but yt must nedes pas that way. Nother no army, that the French king can send to Scotland, nor to vittayl his army to the sea, but it is al set forth there. I cannot tel what I should write more of yt, for it is so commodious. There was one of the wittiest hedds in al christendom of a merchant, which showed me ones standing there together, that we neded non other rod to scourge Normandy and France, but only that, yf we had yt. And I showed the same to my Lord Crumwel, and he sent me thither upon the kings cost; and I drew a plack of yt, and brought yt to hym. The French king was there the same time, and the Admiral Brian, and the cunstable that is now, were there nine days to view yt, and to cast its ditches. And over that, they made a cry, that whatsoeve (whosoever) would come and build there at Newhaven, should have his foundation, and cost hym nothing. And so after my coming home, my Lord Crumwel conferred the matter with me and my Lord Fitz Williams, that was then lord admiral, better than 3 or 4 hours, perviewing the placket; and said yf he lived, and that warrs should happen, that should surely be remembred: for yt was worthy the hering. And so he put me to the king: and so (I) travailed in his graces affairs xxviii viages both in France, Spayne and Italy, and found

hym always good lord unto me, or els I had ben a very poor man.

For I had two ships taken by the French men for xxvi yeres agon; and have had continual sute with them, and never could bryng yt to an end, but was fain to leve yt, and follow the kings affayrs; and had things many tymes to say to my Lord of Winchester, concerning the kings procedings, the which he might not wel away withal, nor Jarmyn Gardener his secretary. And so whan any my Lord Crumwel died, I fered my Lord of Winchester, and so ceased, and fel to my sute agayn in France. For I had many a hevy look for hym of Mr. Wallop, and he sayd, that my great god was gon, and that there was none longing to hym, but spies and hereticks. But as for me, I did those things that I was commanded to do by those days.

p. 153. And now forasmouch as I do se the gloriousnes of the Frenchmen, and how they do rejoyce of their roberies, I can do no less but certify your master-ship that as I know. For yf we wil know our own strength, their courage shal be bated wel ynough. For kepe them from fishing, and geve no save conduits, and kepe them from Newcastle coles, and they are not able to lyve. Or yf the Western men have leve to go to sea, and take what they can, and maintayn a lyttel prety ile, called Oldernay, wheras I have ben or now, and stand in the top of the castel in a clere day, and sene a man ryde a horseback in France. And nother the Brytons, nor the Gascons, can convey any thing into France or in Flanders, but they must come betwixt the shore and them. It is another manner of thing then it is taken. For I would wysh from the bottom of my hart that yt might be loked upon. Yt would make the very Brytons and the Normans, and the Gascons to stope.

I have, or now, advertysed al this to my Lord of Somerset, both by wryting and by mowth. And

his grace hath written me a letter to come to hym and conferr certayn matters with hym; and would have sent me into Gascoin, whan the insurrection was there. The which yf I had gon, and the cunstable had catched me, I had payed for my comyng. And whan I declared his grace my mynd, I contentyd hym.

I do rejoyce from the bottom of my hart to think, how toward a master we have: and again I rejoyce to se how Gods word is trewly and syncerely set forth. There lacketh nothing but to fere God, and to be in obedience of our prynce. I do rejoyce again, to se what godly provision here is for the poor; the which would rejoyce any English heart to se. And also (wish) that these matters aforesayd may be loked upon, and that the ships and the maryners may be maintayned. For the Vice Amiral of France, Monsr. De Muy, hath sayd unto me or now, that we had no ships in the realm of Englund, that were any thing worth, but the kings; and that yf they had such ports and havens as we have, and such commodytes longing to them, they would make themselves berds of gold.

I put no doubts but my Lord of Northumberlands grace hath knowledg of these things: by reason that his grace lay long in Roan of a long tyme. I am so bold to wryte half a dozen words to his grace; the which I would humbly desire you to deliver yt hym and to read hym my book. And this moost humbly I take my leave of you for this tyme. Written at London, the first day of October, by yours with his poor sarvice duryng his lyfe.

THOMAS BARNABE.

F.

Beaumont, Master of the Rolls, his acknowledgment of his debt to the king.

FOR satisfaction of the kynges majesties dett Paper off.
charged upon me in his graces court of wards and

p. 156. lyveries, for redy mony and specialties, amountyng to the some of twenty thousand eight hundred seventy one pounds, eighteen shillings and eight pence, I am pleased and contented, and by this present bil do acknowledg my self to be fully contented and agreed, that the kings majestie shal have al my manors, lands and tenements, whatsoever they be, assured to him and his heirs; and also al my goods and cattals, moveable and unmoveable, whatsoever they be, and in whose custodie soever they remayne; as shal be devysed by the kyngs lerned counsel, with the issues and profits of the same. Provided alwayes, that yf in case there be any just cause of allowance of any part of the aforesaid dett, that then I shal be therof allowed. In wytnes wherof I have subscrybed this byl with my hand, and therunto set to my seal the xxviii day of May, Anno vi Regis Ed. VI.

JOHN BEAMOUNT.

Beaumont's submission and surrender of his place to the king.

XXVIII. Maii, Anno 1552.

Ubi supra. I John Beaumont do most humbly surrendre and gyff into the hands of our soveraigne lord the kynges majestie, my office of Master of the Rolls; most humbly besechyng hys highnes to be mercyful unto me, and al my mysdemeynours and contempts; and in especyall, for the dett which I do owe unto his grace, to have some dayes upon good securityes; and I am agreed to delyver my patent to be cancelled, unto the Lord Chancellor of Englund, or to any other, who shal pleyse his highnes to appoynt to receve the same.

JOHN BEAMOUNT.

G.

The Duke of Northumberland, Earls of Huntingdon and Pembroke, and Secretary Cecill, to the privy council; concerning lands of Paget and Beaumont forfeited.

AFTER our harty commendations unto your good lordships. We have receyved your loving letters this xix of June, written at Grenewich the xviii therof: conteyning thadvertisments of divers your procedings, and such other news as you have had by both thambassadors of themperor and the French king. For the participation wherof we most hartily thank you, having by the same (as it were) refreshing in our journeys this extreame whot wether. Your procedings with the Lord Paget and Mr. Beaumont, signified by your letters, semeth to us for our part very good and substantial. And upon the consideration of the lands and goods surrendered to the king by Beamounts submission, we the rest, apart from the Erle of Huntington, most hartily require your lordships to have in remembrance a reasonable sute made by the said erle, to have the custody of Gracedew, the parsonage of Donnington, the manor of Throughston and Swannington, parcel of the said Beamounts possessions, with al his goods and cattals in and upon the said house and lands, to the kings majesties use: until his pleasure shal be further therein determyned. Which sute we pray your lordships, as opportunity serveth, may be forthered, though he be absent himself. Like as it comforteth us to receive some intelligencies of news from your lordships, so having some more sent unto us in papers than we cold understand for lack of interpretation we retourne the same to your lordships, being certain Doche letters sent to me, Secretary Cecill, out of Almayn. Where after interpretation therof, you may use them as shal please you, cyther privately for your selves there, or in participation

Ubi supra.

p 157.

to us of the same, when they shal have lerned to speke English. And thus we most hartily wish contynual succes of prosperity there, that whersoever we go or ride, nothing shal seme paynful to us, laying the foundation of our comfort upon your wel doings about his majesty there, whom God long preserve. From Master Cecills house at Bourleigh besides Stamford, the xix of June, 1552.

Your assured loving frends.

We have thought mete to pray your good lordships to have in remembrance, that when any order shal be taken for the delivery of any lands of the Lord Paget in satisfaction of part of his fine, our very good lords, the Erle of Huntington and the Lord Chamberlayn, may not be forgotten. The one to have the custody of the house at Drayton, and the other the house at London; wherof your good lordships wel know their lack.

We pray your lordships to be good lords to the berer hereof, Mr. Yong, in his reasonable sute.

*Northumberland, F. Huntingdon,
Pembroke, W. Cecyll.*

H.

The University of Rostoch to King Edward, recommending to him one Peristerus, a godly and learned man of that university.

Paper off. GRATIAS agimus Deo æterno, patri d'ni nostri Ihesu Christi, quod in R: M: V: terris tranquillum hospitium præbet eccl'æ suæ et honestis studiis, quæ sunt præcipuum generis h'ni (humani) decus. Cum n. in o'ib. aliis regnis, aut prorsus publicum eccl'æ ministerium et l rarum studia deleta sint, aut pontificum sæuitia & bellorum tumultibus, et opinionum dissidiis uastentur, ingens Dei be'fitium e'e agnoscimus, quod in R: M: V: regno quietam sedem sanctissime constitutis ecclesiis & scholis tribuit. Quæ

etiam R: M: V. sapientia, pietate, munificentia & auctoritate ita fouentur, ut et his ornamentis Angliæ regni longe antecellat o'ib: ragnis totius orbis terrarum, et R: M: V. merito titulum habeat nutritii eccl'æ Dei, quo nullum in terris preconium maius aut augustius dici potest. Nos quidem tantorum decorum admiratione et amore incensi, gratulamur inclytò Angliæ regno de hac foelicitate, et Deum oramus, ut eam perpetuo conseruet. Speramus etiam R: M: V. pro summa pietate & beneuolentia, qua omnes doctrinæ cœlestis et optimarum artium amantes complectitur, clementer accepturam esse n'ras l'ras, quas huic honesto & docto viro m'gro Wolphgango Peristero Borusso dedimus. Is enim in tantis bellorum tumultibus et Germaniæ perturbationibus, motus celeberrima fama de R: M: V. liberalitate et munificentia erga artium cultores per totam Europam passem sparsa, in inclytas et toto terrarum orbe celebratas R: M: V. academias iturus, spe qualiscunq; conditionis uel beneficii obtinendi, à nobis testimonium de suis studiis, moribus et gradu petiit. Vixit autem in academia nostra aliquandiu magna cum laude modestiæ et diligentiae in omni officio. Cumq; linguam Latinam & Græcam, et phiæ elementa, et doctrinam à Deo eccl'æ traditam recte didicisset, et mores essent honesti et integri, gradu magisterii apud nos ornatus est.

Præbuit etiam eruditionis specimen in docenda lingua Græca, ac multi se ipsius labore & diligentia adiutos esse testantur. Cum autem reipublicæ expediat, ho'es modestos, et bonis, placidis, et moderatis ingeniis præditos, & eruditione excultos, ornare et prouehere ad ea loca ubi seruire eccl'æ Dei possint, et hunc M. Wolphangum non dubitemus eccl'æ Dei et reip. in ueræ doctrinæ propagatione olim magno usui et ornamento futurum esse, reuerenter eum R: M: V. commendamus, Vt R: M: V. ea qua decet regem Christianissimum beneuolentia hunc M. Wolffgangum complecti non dedignetur. Deum æternum Patrem Dni. n'ri Ihesu

p. 159. Christi toto pectore precamur, vt Regia' M: V. eccl'æ suæ et piorum studiorum nutritiam, perpetuo seruet incolumem et storentem. Datum ex academia Rostochiensi, Anno D'ni 1552. ipso Diui Bartholomei festo.

R. M. V.

Obsequentiss.

Rector et vniversitas
studii Rostochiensi.

Serenissimo potentissimoq; principi,
ac d'no, domino Eduardo sexto,
Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæq; regi,
fidei defensori, ac in terris Angliæ
Hiberniæq; ecclesiæ supremo sub
Christo capiti, domino suo clemen-
tissimo.

I.

*A Catalogue of divers free-schools; founded by
K. Edward VI. Within the space of sixteen
months. Viz.*

K. Edw.
Warr-
Book.

A grammar school at Bromycham in the county of Warwick. The patent or grant dated Decemb. 5. sealed January the 7th, 1551. Here he appointed twenty of the most discreet and substantial men of the lordship of Bromycham over the said school. Who should be a fraternity incorporate. And gave them lands and demesnes, to the yearly value of xx*l.* to them and their successors, for the perpetual use of the said king's school. Rendring to the king and his successors, xx shillings yearly, at his court of *augmentations*.

A grant made to the bailiffs and burgesses of Shrewsbury, for the erection of a school within the same town: with his gift of certain tiths of corn within the parishes of Ashley, &c. belonging formerly to the college of our Lady in Salop: and tiths in the parish of Frankwel, &c. formerly belonging to the college of S. Tedd: and al the rents reserved

upon any lease of the premises ; in as ample maner as any master or prebendary (prebendary) of the said colleges lately dissolved, had the same : to the value of xx*l.* 8 shill. With a further licence to receive by gift of any man, or by purchase, to the yearly value of twenty pounds, as by mortmain : for the better maintenance of the same school, and master, usher, and others therunto belonging. The patent bore date February the 10th, 1551.

A patent bearing date March the 13th, 1551. at the request of the L. Dacres, granted to the bailiff and burgesses of Morpeth in Northumberland ; for the erecting of a school there : with a licence of mortmain, to purchase twenty pounds by the year for the maintenance therof.

A patent granted *per billam dni. regis* to the inhabitants of Macclesfield in Cheshire ; licenceing them to erect a grammar school there, to be called, King Edward's Grammar School. And fourteen of the most substantial of the same town appointed to be governours of the possessions and goods, to be given to the same school. Who shal be a body corporate, and of capacity to purchase lands, either of the king, or any other. For the which intent, the king gave to the foresaid governours certain lands in the east part of Cheshire, and certain lands there, called The Prebends Lands, late belonging to the college of John the Baptist, in the city of Chester ; and al the chauntry, called The Peny Canon, within the said city. With other land : which be extended to the yearly value of xxi*l.* 5 shil. Dated Apr. 25, 1552. From the kings manor of East Greenwich. p. 160.

A patent dated May the 11th, to the inhabitants of the town of Nonne Eton in Warwickshire : for the erection of a school there : with the gift of certain lands in the city of Coventree ; belonging lately to the gilde of the Trinity in the said city, and of Corpus Christi there. Which said land were of the yearly value of 40*l.* 15*s.* and 8*d.* To them and

their successors for ever. To be held in socage: with a licence of mortmain, to purchase twenty pounds by the year.

The erection of a grammar school was granted by the king to the inhabitants of the town of Stourbridge, and parish of Old Swinford, in the county of Worcester. Endowing it with lands to the yearly value of 18*l.* 10*s.* and 8*d.* with a licence to purchase twenty pounds *per ann.* And to have the issues and profits of the same, from the feast of the *Annuntiation* last past. To be held of the mannour of East Grenewich in socage.

The erection of a school was granted to the maior and citizens of Bath, with the gift of certain lands, lying in the said city and suburbs of the same. Which be extended to the clear yearly value of twenty five pounds; to them and their successors, for the rent of *x* pounds.

A patent or licence was granted to the maior and burgesses of Bedford, to erect a free grammar school there: and to purchase lands to the value of fourty mark to that use. And that the president of Winchester college shal appoint the schoolmaster and the usher.

A patent dated Jan. 27. to the maior and towne of Guilforde in the county of Surrey: to erect a grammar school there. Whereunto the king gave one annuity of 6*l.* 13*s.* and 4*d.* lately belonging to the chauntry of Stockaborn in the county of Surrey: and one other yearly rent of 13*l.* 6*s.* and 8*d.* coming out of two chauntries in Southwel, in the county of Nottingham. To be held to the maior and honest men of Guilford. And by the advice of the Marques of Northampton, keeper of the kings manour of Guilford, and of the keepers of the same for the time being: to name the schoolmaster and usher of the same school: and, by the advice of the bishop of Winchester, to make statutes and rules for the said school.

A patent dated March the 28th, 1553. to the

alderman and burgesses of Grantham in the county of Lincoln: for the erection of a grammar school there: with the king's gift of certain lands there, to the value yearly of 14*l.* 3*s.* and 3*d.* to have to them and their successors for ever. And to pay to the king and his successors, yearly, 16*s.* and 8*d.* To be held in free socage and burgage of the same town. And to allow to the schoolmaster, to be well instructed in the Latin and Greek tongues, twelve pounds *per ann.* And to make all statutes concerning the school, by the advice of Sir Will. Cecyl, Kt. secretary to the king, *durante vita*: and after his decease, with the advice of the bishop of the diocess: and after his decease, by the advice of the master of St. John's College in Cambridge. And to purchase lands to the value of ten pounds yearly, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain. p. 161.

A gift of the church of Thorne in the county of York; dated May the 21st. To stand for perpetuity, with all things therein, the ornaments and gold and silver excepted. Being a corporation granted to divers persons, by the name of Wardens of the Church of Thorne. To purchase twenty pounds by year of the king, or any other person or persons, for the erection of a school.

A free school granted to the inhabitants of Gygleswick in Craven, in the county of York. Whereof John Nowel, clerk, vicar of Gyggleswick, William Cotterel, Henry Tenant, and others, were appointed governours: to make statutes and orders concerning the said school, with the assent of the bishop of the dioces. And the king gave certain lands, to the value of twenty pounds *per ann.* And also licence to purchase other lands, to the value of thirty pounds *per ann.* The patent bearing date May the 26th.

K.

*The Duke of Northumberland to the Secretary ;
blaming the carelesness of some courtiers at that
time ; and giving account of good hopes of the
king's recovery.*

MSS.
Cecilian.

I HAVE receyved soche lettres as came in your packytt ; for the which I hartelie thank you, wishing yt might have byn so, as your helthe wolde have permytted you to have delivered them your silffe. Yt was styll sayde here, that you had but a grudginge of an ague ; but now we heare the contrary, and that you have byn thies thre or four fyttys grevously handelyd : for which I am right sorye, trusting to God the worst ys past. Whereof I wolde be as gladde as any man, both for your own compforte, as also for the advauncement of the king's waightie affayres. Your companyon doth beare out the burdeyn with as moche payne as any man can do, so moche ys his good wil towardses the service of his master and his countrie, that of a great deal of payne he maketh litle appearance. Others we have, whos sorte you are wel acquaynted withal, that nether earnest zeale, or consideration of tyme, can skarcely awake theym out of theyr wonted dreames, and smothelie wynketh al care from theyr harts, how urgent or wayghtie soever our causes ar. Which thinge I can so yvel beare, as indeed of late, but for my duty to the state, my harte colde skarsly endure the mannour of yt, specially in thies mooste careful dayes. Wel, I do herewith too much trouble you, and receyvyth no plessir with so often remembring the forgetfulness, (or, I sholde say, the carelesness) of others.

p. 162.

But now I will recompfort you with the joyful compfort, which our physicians hath thies two or three mornings revyved my spiritts withal ; which ys, that our soveraine lord doth begin very joyfully to encrease and amende, they havynge no doubt of the

thorro recoverye of his highnes, the rather becaus his majestie is fully bent to follow theyr counsil and advyce. And thus with my hartie commendations, I wish you perfytt helthe. From Grenewyche this vii of May, 1553.

Your assured loving frende,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

To my very loving frend,
Sir Wylliam Cycyll, Knight.

L.

Some Original Letters and Declamations, in Latin ; being learned exercises of King EDWARD, both before, and soon after his access to the crown.

I. *An Epistle to King Henry his father ; who had sent him a buck.*

REGIÆ MAJESTATI,

Ex omnibus quæ me oblectabant, cum essem tecum, rex noblissime, atq; pater illustrissime, nihil magis recreavit animum meum, quàm quod mihi copiam feceris videndi & observandi majestatem tuam. Amor enim meus in te conspectu tuo exercitatur : tum quòd natura id confirmat ; tum quod paterna tua pietas magis ac magis quotidie erga me augescit. Quamobrem ingentes gratias tibi ago. Et contendo etiam atque etiam ab te, ut te iterum visam, cum tibi libitum fuerit. Quod quo citius fuerit, hoc mihi gratius erit.

Deinde, ingentes tibi gratias ago pro cervo quem ad me misisti. Quod signum est, te etiam mei absentis meminisse. Denique rogo te, ut des mihi benedictionem tuam. Opto tibi multam salutem. Vale, rex noblissime, atq; pater illustrissime. Hatfeldiæ, quarto Septembris, an. 1546.

p. 163.

E. PRINCEPS.

II. *Another Epistle to King Henry ; who had sent the prince a newyears gift.*

REGIÆ MAJESTATI,

Cum tot & tanta in me contuleris beneficia, rex nobilissime, atq; pater pientissime, quæ vix numerare queam, tum hæc strena quam ad me postremum misisti, videtur mihi non solum præclara, verum etiam paternæ tuæ pietatis erga me plenissima. Ob quam ingentes tibi gratias ago. Et cogito me, quamquam adnitar pro viribus omne tempus vitæ meæ, & laborem in omni genere officiorum, tamen vix magnitudinem beneficiorum tuorum attingere posse. Quare conabor, quod natura & officium postulat, majestati tuæ placere, atq; esse optimi patris bonus filius, ac sequi exemplum virtutis, sapientiæ & pietatis tuæ. Quam rem spero tibi futuram gratissimam. Atq; hoc melius præstabo, si pergas in benevolentia tua erga me : et mihi quotidianam tantam benedictionem impertias. Dom. Jesus te servet incolumem. Hertfordiæ, decimo Januarii, an. 1546.

E. PRINCEPS.

III. *Another Epistle of the Prince to the King ; upon occasion of a peace after his wars with France.*

Nihil ad te literarum dedi hoc longo tempore, rex illustrissime ac pater nobilissime : non quod fui aliqua ex parte negligens, sed quod ego considerans majestatem tuam perturbari negotiis Bellicis, putavi me perturbaturum majestatem tuam his puerilibus literis meis. Atq; ideo veniebat in mentem mihi scrupulus quidam, num scriberem ad te ; annon. Sed nunc considerans, quod sicut quivis laboriosus post diuturnum laborem, cupit recreare animum ; sic spero, cum majestas tua longo intervallo habuerit negotium, has pueriles literas meas potius recreaturas animum tuum, quam perturbaturas.

Nam quia es amabilis & benignus mihi pater, & spero me futurum obsequentissimum tibi filium; ideo judico benevolentiam tuam boni consulturam literas meas, ex se indignas. Præterea, rogo majestatem tuam ut impertius mihi benedictionem tuam: optoq; tibi bonum eventum in omnibus negotiis tuis. Vale. pater nobilissime, & rex illustrissime. Hunsdoniæ. Secundo Junii, an. 1546.

EDOUARDUS PRINCEPS.

IV. *An Epistle of the Prince to Queen Katharine.* p. 164.
Thanks for her newyears gift, being the king and queens pictures.

REGINÆ CATHARINÆ,

Quod non ad te diu scripserim, regina illustrissima atq; mater charissima, in causa fuit, non negligentia, sed studium. Non enim hoc feci, ut nunquam omnino scriberem. Quare spero te futuram contentam, & gavisuram, quòd non scripserim. Tu enim velles me proficere in omni honestate & pietate. Quod est signum insignis & diuturni tui amoris erga me.

Atq; hunc amorem multis beneficiis mihi declarasti: & præcipuè hac strenâ, quam proximè ad me misisti. In qua regiæ majestatis & tua effigies ad vivum expressa continetur. Nam plurimum me delectat vestras imagines absentium contemplari. Quas libentissimè videre cupio præsentem: ac quibus maximè tum natura tum officio, devinctus sum. Quamobrem majores tibi gratias ago ob hanc strenam, quàm si misisses ad me preciosas vestes, aut aurum celatum, aut quidvis aliud eximium.

Deus celsitudinem tuam, quam me brevi visurum spero, servet incolumem. Hartfordiæ. Decimo Januarii, 1546.

E. PRINCEPS

V. *The Prince's Epistle to the Archbishop of Canterbury, his godfather : upon a golden cup sent him for a newyears gift ; with a letter.*

CANTUARIENSI ARCHIEPISCOPO,

Duæ res mihi calcar addiderunt, ut ad te literas scribam, susceptor amantissime, prima, ut tibi gratias agam ob calicem ; deinde, ob literas tuas, quas ad me postremum misisti. Poculum tuum perhibet testimonium, te mihi plurimos felicissimos annos optare, ac precari. Ex literis autem tuis multum fructus accepi. Quòd in illis me hortaris, atq; veluti stimulum mihi addis, ad perdiscendas bonas literas, quæ mihi usui futuræ sint, cum ad virilem perveniam ætatem. Literæ vero bonæ, & artes liberales mihi discendæ sunt ; quòd Aristippus hoc dicere solet, “ Disce, puer quæ tibi viro sunt usui futura.” Atq; etiam huic quadrat ille Cicero eloquentissimus autor, narrans : “ Literarum studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, res secundus ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris : pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.”

p. 165. Deniq; exoratum te volo, ut boni consulas Latinitatem meam, ipsa barbarie barbariorem, cum tua eloquentia sit excellentissima. Vale, susceptor amantissime, oculis meis mihi charior : cui multum felicitatis opto. Hartfordiæ. 24º Januarii, an. 1546.

E. PRINCEPS.

VI. *The Prince to his sister, the Lady Mary ; who had been sick.*

SORORI Mariæ,

Non doleo tantum quod non scripseris ad me hoc longo tempore, soror charissima, quantum gaudebam te recuperasse valetudinem tuam. Nam etsi non scripseris ad me, scio tamen te non carere bene-

volentia erga me : valetudo autem tua lætificat me, quia amo te, & ægritudo tua facit me tristem eodem nomine. Gero autem amorem erga te, tum quod sis soror mea, tum quod natura facit me amare te. Quare cura valetudinem tuam ; & ne labores, ut scribas ad me, quando ægritudo tua non vult sinere te. Benevolentia enim & amor tuus accipitur in bonam partem, etsi nihil literarum des.

Deus det tibi sapientiam Hester. Saluta quæso Dominam Turwit, Dominam Herbard, & Dom. Lanam. Vale, soror charissima. Hunsdoniæ. Vigessimio Maii, an. 1546.

E. PRINCEPS.

VII. *The Prince to his sister, the Lady Elizabeth : upon the departure of her from him.*

SORORI ELIZABETHÆ,

Loci quidem mutatio me non tantum angabat, charissima soror, quantum discessus tuus à me. Nunc autem nihil omnino mihi gratius accidere potest, quàm tuæ literæ. Ac præcipuè quod ad me prior dedisti literas, ac me literas scribere provocasti. Quare ingentes tibi gratias ago, tum ob benevolentiam tuam, tum ob celeritatem. Itaq; adnitor pro viribus, te si non superare, saltem æquare benevolentia, ac studio. Hunc vero meum dolorem consolatur, quod spero me brevi visurum te, si nullus interim, neq; apud me, neq; apud te, casus interveniat ; ut mihi retulit meus camerarius. Vale, soror charissima. Quinto Decembr. an. 1546.

E. PRINCEPS.

VIII. *The Prince to Dr. Cox, his præceptor and almoner. Shewing his remembrance and love of him by writing to him ; and praying him to thank the secretary for his sand-box sent him.* p. 166.

RICHARDO COXO,

Quemadmodum officium meum postulat, scribo

ad te literas, eleemosynarie charissime, ut scias me tui meminisse. Si enim non scriberem ad te, esset signum me tui oblivisci. Sed nunc cum scribam ad te est signum me te amare, & tui meminisse. Et quemadmodum qui scribit ad unum, non potest non meminisse illius, quia scribit illius nomen in superscriptione; sic ego cum scribo ad te, non possum oblivisci tui.

Præterea, hortor te, ut literæ sint æque dulces tibi, ac venatio & aucupium delectant alios. Literæ enim sunt meliores Thesauris. Et quicunque tenet literas, tenet magnum Thesaurum. Nam dicitur in paradoxis Ciceronis, *Quod solus sapiens, dives*. Literæ enim sunt divitiæ.

Saluta, quæso, secretarium regis, ac illi gratias age pro pixidicula arenaria. Nunc, optimè vale, mi eleemosynarie ornatissime, ac amantissime. Deus ne sinat pedem tuum averti à justa via. Hartfordiæ: nono Aprilis, anno 1546.

Tui amantissimus discipulus,

E. PRINCEPS.

IX. *The Prince to Dr. Cox. In commendation of diligence and learning: and thanking him for his correcting of an error.*

Ex quo Foulerus abiit, eleemosynarie charissime, non misi ad te epistolam, quia cognovi neminem iterum ad te venire ab illo tempore hucusque. Quod autem non exaravi ad te phrases, elegantes sententias, & elegantia verba, hujus rei negligentiam expulsum spero. Si enim fuero tardus in conatis, formicæ essent meliores me. Formicæ enim laborant; & ego essem negligens. Atque mihi videtur quadrare huic, quod ait Hebræus ille sapiens, *Tarda manus facit pauperim; celeris autem divitem*. Ago tibi gratias etiam, quia narrasti mihi erratum meum. Illi enim sunt amici mei, qui indicant mihi culpam meam.

Deus immortalis, & exhilerator omnium afficiat te gaudio & servet te incolumem; & augeat sapientiam tuam; atque det tibi gratiam, ut consequaris voluntatem ejus; ut post hanc vitam vivas cum Christo in æterno regno ejus. Optimè valeas, præceptor charissime. Hunsdoniæ: tertio Julij, an. 1546.

E. PRINCEPS.

X. *The Prince, now King, to Q. Katharine: upon the death of King Henry, his father.* p. 167.

REGINÆ CATHARINÆ,

Plurimas tibi gratias ago ob epistolam, quam ad me postremam misisti, charissima mater; quæ sane est signum insignis tui, ac quotidiani amoris in me. Porro cum visum sit Deo, optimo, maximo, ut meus pater, & tuus conjunx, rex illustrissimus, hanc vitam finiret, nobis ambobus communis est dolor. Hoc vero nobis consolationem affert, quod jam sit in cœlo; atque quod ex hac vita misera profectus est in fœlicem & æternam beatitudinem. Quisquis enim hic felicem agit vitam atq; reipublicam rectè gubernat, sicut nobilissimus meus pater fecit, qui promovit omnem pietatem, atq; expulit omnem ignorantiam, habet certissimum iter in cœlum. Quamvis vero natura jubet dolere, ac lachrymas effundere ob discessum ejus absentis, tamen scriptura ac prudentia jubet moderari affectos istos, ne videamur nullam omnino spem habere resurrectionis mortuorum, & vita defunctorum.

Præterea, cum tua celsitudo in me tot beneficia contulit, ego debeo quicquid commodi possum tibi afferre, præstare. Opto tuæ celsitudini plurimam salutem. Vale, regina veneranda. E. Turri, septimo Februarii, anno 1546.

E. REX,

XI. *The young King to his sister, the Lady Mary;
upon the said sad occasion.*

SORORI MARIÆ,

Natura, non sapientia, nobis classicum canit ad lamentandum patris nostri charissimi mortem. Natura enim putat se illum amisisse mortuum. At sapientia credit, quod is qui vivit cum Deo, est in æterna felicitate. Quare quum Deus miserit nobis talem sapientiam, non debemus mortem illius lugere, cum ejus voluntas sit, qui omnia in bonum operatur.

Quod ad me autem pertinet, ero tibi charissimus frater, & omni benevolentia exuberans. Deus opt. max. te imbuat suis donis. Vale. E Turri Londinensi; octavo Februarii, anno 1546.

E. REX.

p. 168.

XII. *Another to his sister, the Lady Elizabeth:
upon the said death of the king, their father.*

SORORI ELIZABETHÆ,

Minime opus est mihi te consolari, charissima soror; quod eruditione tua cognoscis, quod sit faciendum. Prudentia vero, & pietate tua, quod eruditio docuit te cognoscere, facto præstas. Non enim lugendus est pater noster, quamvis nobis charissimus fuerit; quòd jam sit in cœlo. Nec mors ejus est deploranda, quæ est via ex hac vita misera ad longè feliciorē. Quare quisq; debet adniti pro viribus, ut sapientia vincat naturam, & fortitudo moderetur affectus, & consilium gubernet judicium populi. Quisquis enim hoc facit, is verè christianus appellatur. Ac si quis dicat, qui huic contrarium facit, christianum, eum certè falso, atque illi indigno nomine, nuncupat.

Præterea, literæ tuæ mihi admodum arridebant, tum quòd in illis elegantes sententiæ continentur, tum quod ex illis sentio te æquo consuluisse animo

mortem patris nostri. Porro, si ullo modo possum tibi commodare, libenter præstabo. Optimè vale. E Turri; octavo Februarii, anno 1546.

E. REX.

XIII. *A Declamation made by King Edward VI. June the 23d, 1549, being one of his Latin exercises. The theme was Virtus. And the question declaimed upon, was, Whether the act of vertue, or the habit, were more praiseworthy, and preferable?*

Omnes quidem, & philosophi, ethnici & doctores ecclesiastici concludunt, quòd *virtus* sit affectus quidam, imitans decora, honesta & laudabilia: vitans verò turpia, seu obscæna, & omnia illa quæ pugnant cum norma rationis. Hanc ob causam omnes viri docti in hoc mundo nihil prestantius, nihil pulchrius, nihil magis decorum judicaverunt, quàm illa *virtus*. Si homo excellat cæteris animantibus, quia est animal, & particeps rationis, tum etiam illa res, quæ ab hac parte hominis procedit, est optima & pulcherrima. Quanquam enim hoc omnes univocè affirmant, *Virtutem esse summum bonum, aut magnum bonum, & doctissimi inter se disceptaverunt, quæ pars virtutis sit alteri præferenda: ut*

An actio virtutis, vel habitus, sit laudabilior, & præstantior.

Hoc igitur est thema, de quo jam tractabo. Ego autem in hac questione seu controversia has teneo partes, habitum non esse præstantiorem actione. p. 169. Idq; per partes probabo. Sunt autem duo virtutum genera: quorum unum est philosophicum; aliud theologicum. Et quanquam omnes philosophicæ sunt etiam theologicæ, tamen plures in theologia recitantur, quam in philosophia. Philosophicæ enim sunt quatuor, prudentia, justitia, fortitudo, & temperantia. Quid! audetne prudentia se comparare justitiæ? Audetne scientia se comparare fortitudini ac

temperantiæ? Audetne cognitio se æquiparate tam pulchro numero virtutum clarissimarum? Rectè, rectè dictum est à Cicerone illo pulcherrimo philosopho, *Omnis laus virtutis in actione consistit*. Jam autem justitiam esse præstantiorem prudentia, multis modis præstabo.

Quod si enim ea vita contigerit sapienti, ut omnium rerum affluentibus copiis ditetur; quamvis ibi possit rerum ordinem secum considerare & perspicere; tamen si tanta sit solitudo, ut hominem videre non possit, excedet è vita, potius quam hæc patietur. Igitur illæ virtutes, quæ maximè hominum societatem defendunt, sunt optimæ. Justitia autem & fortitudo & temperantia magis colunt hominum societatem, & magis defendunt remp. quam prudentia: quare sunt meliores prudentia. Ita, nisi rerum scientia & cognitio ad se adjuvandum appellet justitiam, solivaga erit cognitio, & jejuna. Quam ob causam concluditur justitiam esse potiorem prudentia; & omne officium, quod ad conjunctionem hominum, & ad societatem tuendam valet, anteponendum est illi officio, quod in rerum omnium scientia, intelligentia & cognitione versatur, aut consistit.

Hanc meam sententiam de justitia & prudentia tenet ille præstantissimus philosophus & orator, M. T. Cicero, & Aristoteles. Cicero autem in primo libro *officiorum*, non solum affirmat justitiam esse præstantiorem prudentia, sed etiam non paucas rationes addit. Hoc igitur jam à nobis probatum fuit, actionem virtutis philosophicæ esse meliorem habitu. In sacris vero literis apparet, *charitatem* esse meliorem *fide*. Paulus vero ad Corinth. (cap. 13.) dicit, tres sunt virtutes, "Fides, spes & charitas. Sed optima horum, charitas." Dicit autem quis, fides justificat. Ergo fides est melior operibus. Nego argumentum. Non enim habet consequentiam. Fides justificat. Ergo melior est charitate. Si enim essent contradictoriæ sententiæ, tum Paulus non affirmasset, & charitatem esse meliorem fide, & fidem justificare. Hæc vero ratio est, quare non

sunt contradictoria hæc duo. Prima bona opera quæ facimus, non justificant. Primum vero opus christiani, ordine naturæ, est effectus. Ergo fides justificat. Sed prima opera non sunt semper optima. Ergo, non necesse sequi, & valere hoc argumentum; fides justificat; ergo, est melior operibus.

Cum igitur in omnibus, & philosophicis & theologicis virtutibus, actio sit melior, quam habitus, tum in omni genere virtutis actio est melior, quam habitus. Finis enim propositus uniuscujusque rei est melior, quam res spectantes ad illum finem in bonis rebus. Sed finis omnis habitus est actio. Finis enim propositus omnis prudentiæ est ut justitiam administremus, & piè vitam colamus, atque in societate humanæ totum tempus vitæ, totum honorum & divitiarum cumulum, totas denique opes & facultates impendamus. Ergo illæ virtutes, quæ versantur in actione & societate tuenda, meliores sunt quam quæ in habitu consistunt. Hæc vero ratio à firmis dictis sumitur. Et quomodo confutari possit, adhuc non video. Hoc igitur sequitur, quod actio sit melior habitu. Illæ enim virtutes, quæ administrant, regunt & defendunt respublicas, multo pulchrius negotium susceperunt, quam illæ quæ solum in rebus perspicendis versantur.

p. 170.

Sed illæ primæ omnes in actione, aliæ vero in habitu. Ergo, illæ virtutes quæ sunt in actione, sunt meliores iis quæ sunt in habitu.

Objicient fortasse adversarii, quod causa bonæ rei est melior effectu; sed habitum esse causam actionis affirmabunt: eamque ob causam, meliorem actione. Respondeo, me negare consequentiam. Quia major loquitur de causa tota & perfecta. Minor verò de parte causæ. Voluntas enim conjuncta animi habitu est causa actionis, non solus habitus. His ergo rationibus, in hanc sententiam pedibus eo, quod actio virtutis sit melior & laudabilior habitu. Dixi.

XIV. *Another Declamation of King Edward, June the 30th, 1549, upon this question, Whether the fore-knowledge of things be profitable to the life of man?*

An præscientia rerum sit utilis.

OMNES philosophi & oratores, quanquam in multis rebus dissentiebant, tamen hoc omnes concluderunt, hominem differre à cæteris animantibus. Quia est particeps rationis. Animum enim cæterorum animalium dicebant solum in se habere affectus rapidos, & expertes rationis ac intelligentiæ: hujus vero animus non solum affectuum rapidorum participem, sed etiam rationis: in qua omnis scientia continetur. Eas vero res quæ consistebant in parte experte rationis, nulla laude dignas putabant. Contra vero eas virtutes & scientias quæ erant in parte partecipe rationis, omni laude efferendas, judicabant.

Quare cum sit hæc questio nobis proposita, utrum præscientia rerum futurarum sit utilis ad vitam, ego quidem intelligens, quod præscientia sit quædam res consistens in illa parte animi quam vocant participem rationis, videlicet mente, puto & æstimo utilem ad vitam.

Omnia enim honesta & bona utilia sunt. Rectè enim dictum est à Cicerone illo sapientissimo philosopho & oratore, quòd *omnia utilia sunt honesta*; sed præscientia rerum futurarum non est inhonesta. Quapropter honesta. Ex hac ratione rectè & argutè spectata licet intelligere, quod præscientia rerum futurarum sit utilis ad vitam. Omnis enim notitia & cognitio rerum est utilis, bona & honesta. Sed rerum præscientia, seu præcognitio est intellectus, notitia aut cognitio. Quare præscientia rerum est utilis.

Videmus quidem in universitate rerum multa futura, quæ nisi præscirentur, omnes malè suum tempus in otio & tranquillitate, non in labore consumerent. Si enim servus non præsciret iram sui domini,

nisi & sibi commissa servaret, & mandatis pareret, certè nunquam suo domino obediret, & pareret : sed totam vitam suam in otio & stultitia, & illa mala libertate & licentia tereret. p. 171.

Nos omnes, qui sumus servi Dei, & filii sui Jesu Christi, nisi cognosceremus sibi displicere nostra peccata, in vitiorum cumulo & mole permaneremus. Nunc autem animi ejus iram præsciamus, cum ejus vindictam intelligamus, & ejus minas præcognoscamus, primum veremur, ne si peccaremus, & vitiis potius faveremus, quam virtuti, in hoc mundo nos affligat, prematq; molestiis, & ludibrio exponat. Deinde, si malefaciamus, perterrefimus hac cogitatione, Deum nos in æternum ignem conjecturos, videlicet, in infernum, locum omnis supplicii & pænæ; ubi erit gemitus & stridor dentium. Contra vero si beneficiamus, & rectè vitam in hoc mundo degamus, tum scimus Deum nos fortunaturum in nostris actionibus, ut fortunavit Abrahamum Josephum, & Jacobum, qui erant patriarchæ; & omnes illos qui erant in cœtu & ecclesia ejus.

Adhæc, vitam æternam expectamus, & gaudium solatiumq; in Deo. Utile quidem est, cognoscere nos morituros in hoc, ut nos præparemus ad mortem. Utile, præscire tempus fluctus & refluxus maris, ut nos paremus ad navigationem. Utile est, præcognoscere tempus seminandi & arandi, ut paremus aratrum & semen. Hæc omnia præscire est utile ad colendam vitam. Si enim præsciremus nihil, ad nihilum nos paratos redderemus. Illa verò quæ subito sine deliberatione & paratione rerum fiant, nunquam, aut paucissimis temporibus, rectè fiant.

Quamobrem præscientia rerum est utilis, bona & honesta. Videmus enim & intelligimus multos, & philosophos, & viros hoc tempore sanè eruditos censere, quod placatio animi sit felicitas, seu summum bonum. Quicquid adjuvat ad placationem animi est bonum, honestum & utile. Quid verò potest esse dulcius, quid placatius, quid suavius, quod admoveatur animo, quam præscientia rerum futurarum? Ergo, est

utilis ad vitam humanam. Humana enim mens oblita quærit, & inventa semper mandat memoriæ. Nunquam desinet laborare, nunquam otiaur, nunquam quietem patitur. Semper agit, semper laborat, semper cogitat; & invenit abdita & secreta. Cum enim corpus dormit & quietem habet, animus cogitat & invenit, quomodo res sint peragenda. Hinc illa perpetuitas animi recte cerni potest. Quicquid ergo ad hunc animum placandum pertinet, (non sentio partem expertem rationis, sed partem participem) illud utile est ad vitam.

Cum autem jam ego legerim *dialecticam*, in ea cerno, quod in naturalibus causis, semper bonam sequuntur boni effectus. Causæ vero naturales præscientiæ, videlicet, mens, & voluntas ei consentiens, sunt bonæ. Ergo ipsa præscientia est bona, & utilis ad vitam.

Adhæc, legimus in sacris literis utile fuisse multis, quod præsciverant Christum venturum. Ergo, aliqua præscientia est utilis.


Prætera, nos duabus in rebus excellimus cæteris animantibus, præscientia, & rerum aliquarum ratione. Deus nobis in duabus rebus excellit, præscientia rerum omnium, & patientia. His ergo rationibus persuasus, teneo has partes, quod *præscientia rerum sit utilis ad vitam*.

Dixi.

END OF VOL. VI.

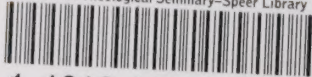


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